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The Indian Historical Quarterly

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The Vedic and the Epic Kṛṣṇa

There is some speculation regarding the identity of the epic Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa with the Kṛṣṇa of *ṚgVeda* viii. 74, whom the *Anukramaṇī* styles Kṛṣṇa Āṅgirasa, and with Kṛṣṇa Devakī-putra, who is described as the pupil of Ghora Āṅgirasa in the *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad* (iii. 17. 6), and it has been suggested that a tradition exists, from the time of the *ṚgVeda* and the *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad*, of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa as a Vedic seer or teacher. This speculation is necessitated by the fact that two important features of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa emerge in the Epic, namely, Kṛṣṇa as the not-overscrupulous tribal chief, and Kṛṣṇa as the deified philosophical and religious teacher, and it is felt that the two features should be reconciled. It has been suggested that these figures belong to different cycles of legend. Some scholars have even gone to the length of separating these two aspects of Kṛṣṇa, although there is no conclusive evidence or tradition for this procedure in the Epic itself. We have R. G. Bhandarkar's suggestion, accepted by Grierson and Garbe, but rejected by Hopkins and Keith, that Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa was originally a local or tribal chief who was deified, or a legendary saint of the Vṛṣṇi-Sātvatas whom he taught a monotheistic religion, that he lived in the 6th century B.C., if not earlier, that originally he was quite different from the Kṛṣṇa of whom a tradition is supposed to exist from the time of the *ṚgVeda* and the *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad* as a seer or teacher, that Vāsudeva became identified with Viṣṇu earlier than with Kṛṣṇa, and that his legends came to be mixed up, but it must be said that these facile, though attractive, conjectures are not proved. Some scholars have even maintained that Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa did not figure at all in the original Epic, but was introduced later, perhaps to justify the action of the Pāṇḍavas, but this is also an unproved hypothesis of the same type. The existence of cycles of legend in an epic like the *Mahābhārata* is

indeed not denied, but the assumption of two or several Kṛṣṇas is based upon the further *a priori* assumption that the Kṛṣṇa-legend in the Epic must be analysed into several groups, and that each of these groups was originally concerned with different persons of the same name, but was subsequently mixed up to form one mass round one personality. Whatever plausibility these assumptions may possess, there is, unfortunately, nothing conclusive in the Epic itself, nor in the previous literature, to warrant such a complacent splitting up of the existing data.

It is noteworthy that the identity of the Vedic Kṛṣṇa with the Epic Kṛṣṇa is not at all supported by the Purāṇic tradition We have no description, either in the Epic or in the Purāṇa, of Kṛṣṇa as a seer of Vedic Mantras or as a pupil of an Upaniṣadic seer. In the Purāṇic tradition the name of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa's teacher is given as Kāśya Sāmdīpani of Avantī, and that of his initiator as Gārga. As a Kṛṣṇa, father of Viśvakāya, is mentioned in *Ṛg Veda* i 116. 23 and i 117 7, and a Kṛṣṇa Hārīta in *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, iii 2 6, it is clear that Kṛṣṇa is not an uncommon non-divine name, but the attempts to connect or identify these Kṛṣṇas, or to establish the tradition of a sage Kṛṣṇa "from the time of the ṚgVedic hymns to the time of the Chāndogya Upaniṣad", as R. G. Bhandarkar suggests, have not, so far, proved very successful All that can be said without dogmatism is that there are the Vedic and Upaniṣadic Kṛṣṇas, on the one hand, and the Epic and Purāṇic Kṛṣṇa, son of Vasudeva, on the other, but that the links which would connect or identify them beyond all doubt are unfortunately missing.

These missing links are supposed to be furnished, however, in the case at least of Kṛṣṇa of the *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad*, by the fact that he is described therein as Devakī-putra, and by the allegation that there is a close similarity between the doctrines taught to Kṛṣṇa Devakī-putra in the Upaniṣad and the doctrines taught by Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa in the *Bhagavad-gītā* Although the possibility of accidental coincidence of names is not altogether excluded, there can be no doubt that a very strong point, and perhaps the only strong point, of this view lies in the similarity of the description Devakī-putra, as well as in the comparative rarity of the name Devakī But this one circumstance alone cannot be taken as conclusively supplying the means of connexion between the two Kṛṣṇas. For corroboration, therefore, somewhat doubtful similarity has been industriously discovered between the teachings of Ghora Āṅgirasa to Kṛṣṇa Devakī-

putra and the teachings of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna As this point has been argued in some detail,[1] it would be worth while to discuss it here.

In the *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad* III. 17. 6, Ghora Āṅgirasa, who is described in the *Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa* xxx. 6 as a priest of the Sun, teaches certain doctrines to Kṛṣṇa, son of Devakī, of which the three main points are the following (i) a mystic interpretation of certain ceremonies comprised in the Vedic sacrifice as representing various functions of life, (ii) the efficacy of the practice of certain virtues, which are declared to symbolise the Dakṣiṇā or priest's fee, an important element in the ritual, the virtues being austerity (Tapas), liberality (Dāna), straightforwardness (Ārjava), non-injury (Ahiṃsā) and truthfulness (Satya-vacana), and (iii) the importance of fixing one's last thoughts on three things, namely, the Indestructible (Akṣita), the Unshaken (Acyuta) and the Essence of Life (Prāṇasaṃśita), and the whole passage concludes with the citation of some Vedic Mantras in praise of the Sun. It is argued that these doctrines reappear in the *Bhagavad-gītā*, and the coincidence of certain passages is held to be striking. In the *Gītā*, there is symbolical interpretation of sacrifice, the virtues are also mentioned in xvi 3, the importance of last thoughts is taught in viii. 5 and 10, while the epithets Akṣara, Acyuta etc are also found, and lastly, the traditional communication of the original doctrines of the *Gītā* to Vivasvat or the sun-god is mentioned in iv 1.

At first sight, these parallels appear striking enough to merit attention, but it is possible to make too much of them It must be recognised that the teachings of Ghora Āṅgirasa, even if he is a sun-worshipper, are clearly Upaniṣadic As the *Gītā* admittedly echoes some of the teachings of the Upaniṣads, and as some of its verses are easily shown to be made up of tags from the Upaniṣads, such verbal and other parallelisms are hardly surprising The mystical interpretation of symbolic sacrifice or symbolising of the Vedic ritual is not at all rare in the Brāhmaṇa, Āraṇyaka and Upaniṣad, and cannot be said to be exclusive to the teaching of Ghora Āṅgirasa The *Bhagavad-gītā* probably borrows the idea from the general Brāhmanic and Upaniṣadic literature, but there is nothing to connect it

1 Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, *Early Hist of the Vaisnava Sect*, 2nd Ed, Calcutta University, 1936, pp 79-83 See also L D Barnett, *Hindu Gods and Heroes*, London 1922, pp 82-83, and in *JRAS*, 1929, pp 123-29, *BSOS*, V. 1928-30, pp 635-37 W D P Hill, *Bhagavadgītā*, (Oxford Univ Press), 1928, pp 5-6

with the details of the particular interpretation given by Ghora Āṅgirasa. Unless this can be shewn, the argument loses all its force. It is well-known that the *Gītā* interpretation of sacrifice is somewhat different, for it not only symbolises the sacrifice but also attempts to sanctify it by its theistic theory of desireless Karman. Not much capital need also be made of the enumeration of particular virtues in the *Gītā*, for it occurs in a fairly comprehensive list of godlike qualities, and forms in no sense an exclusive mention of those stated by Ghora Āṅgirasa. Nor is it a complete list of the outstanding virtues of the Bhāgavata cult, even though it mentions Ahimsā[2] on which Barnett lays a stress greater than that found in the text itself, and argues from the prominence given to this virtue in the later development of Vaisnavism. Such lists occur also in other places in the *Mahābhārata*, as well as in the *Gītā*, in the descriptions of the ideal man from various points of view, and no definite deduction can be made from such laudatory enumerations of more or less general and recognised virtues. Nothing is gained by connecting these well known virtues with the three (Dama, Tyāga and Apramāda) mentioned in the Besnagar inscription, although the Apramāda of the inscription is missing in Ghora's exposition.[3] The fact is also overlooked that the doctrine of Dama, Tyāga and Apramāda is not unknown in other parts of the Epic, which parts have no palpable connexion with Bhāgavatism, it occurs, for instance, in the Sanatsujāta sub-parvan of the Udyoga.[4] In the same way, the doctrine of last thoughts cannot be regarded as an essential doctrine

2 See Mrinal Dasgupta in *IHQ* viii, 1932, pp 79-81, where the question of Ahimsā is discussed, and it is rightly concluded "In the *Bhagavadgītā* Ahimsā is mentioned as a laudable virtue and as a *śārīra tapas*, bodily penance (x, 5, xiii, 7, xiv, 2, xvii, 14), but it is out of the question that the Bhagavat should insist on this doctrine to Arjuna on the battle-field To the Gītā-theory of desireless action as well as of the immortality of the self, the distinction between injury and non-injury in itself is immaterial It is remarkable, therefore, that while Ahimsā as a religious attitude is practically ignored in the *Bhagavadgītā*, it is insisted upon in the Nārāyaniya both by legend and precept, and in this respect, later Vaisnava faiths follow the Nārāyaniya rule"

3 In spite of Barnett's very ingenious interpretation (*BSOS*, v, p 139), one fails to see in the triad of the inscription "a rude summary of the same principles as that of the *Gītā*"

4 Ed Bhandarkar Institute, Poona 1940, 5 43 14, Bombay Ed 5 43 22 *damas tyāgo' pramādaś ca etesu amṛtam āhitam*

of the *Gītā*, and the mention of Akṣara, Acyuta etc. hardly proves anything. The present writer has already dealt with the next argument of the alleged connexion of Bhāgavatism with Sun worship,[5] an argument which is even less convincing, for no worship of the Sun is taught anywhere in the *Gītā*, and even admitting the influence of the solar cult, the alleged solar origin of Bhāgavatism is an extremely doubtful proposition

Barnett admits that the particular parallels mentioned above are not very close, but he lays stress on their collective significance On this there is room for reasonable difference of impression, but it would be surely too much to maintain, as Hemchandra Raychaudhuri does, that the doctrines taught by Ghora Āṅgirasa "formed the kernel of the poem known as the *Bhagavadgītā*", and build an entire edifice of hypothesis on such scanty and precarious materials as detailed above. It must not be forgotten that the parallels in question do not at all form the cardinal or essential doctrines of the *Gītā*, far less its *summa theologiae*, as they avowedly do in the case of Ghora Āṅgirasa's teaching, and their indebtedness or otherwise, and even their omission, in the *Gītā* would not materially affect the substance of the work

S K De

5 In *BSOS*, vi, pt 3, 1931, pp 669-72

The Dynastic Chronicles of Kashmir*

II Modern Period

In the narrative of Kalhana, the modern or the historical period dawns with the rise of the Kārkota dynasty in the early part of the 7th century A D (Book IV), and comes into full bloom with the advent of the Utpala dynasty in 855-56 A D. (Book V). Of the Kārkoṭa kings, Durlabhavardhana, Pratāpāditya II, Lalitāditya and Jayāpīda (Vinayāditya) are known from their coins (Cunningham, *Coins of Mediaeval India*, p. 38, V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, p 268, R. C Kak, *Handbook to the Archaeological and Numismatic Sections of the Sir Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar*, p 133, *J A S B*, Numismatic Supplement, pp. N. 7-8). The kings Candrāpīda, Lalitāditya (Muktāpīda), and probably also Durlabhavardhana are mentioned in the valuable Chinese annals King Cippaṭajayāpīda (otherwise called Bṛhaspati) is mentioned as his patron by the poet Rājānaka Ratnākara in his *Haravijaya* poem By checking Kalhana's dates for Candrāpīda and Muktāpīda with those from the Chinese annals and by considering Kalhana's account of the synchronism of the poet Ratnākara with King Avantivarman of the Utpala dynasty, Stein, (I, *Introd* pp 67, 96) has found it necessary to rectify Kalhana's chronology with the addition of twenty-five years The above correction necessarily applies to Kalhana's first recorded precise date, namely 3889 Laukika Era (813-14 A D) for the death of Cippatajayāpīda above-mentioned How much truth and fiction are mingled in this part of Kalhana's narrative is best illustrated by his long and detailed account of the reign of King Lalitāditya Muktāpīda Of the series of conquests attributed to this greatest of the ancient Kashmirian kings, some are rendered certain not only by intrinsic probability, but also by the external evidence Thus we may well believe with the chronicler that the king extended his authority over the lower hills to the north of the Punjab comprising Jālamdhara and Lohara and probably also a few Śāhi principalities along the upper course of the Indus The account of the defeat of Yaśovarman of Kanauj, the patron of Bhavabhūti and Vākpatirāja, may be

* Continued from vol XVIII, p 207

equally based on fact. Equally historical may be the account of Lalitāditya's victories over the Tuhkhāras (Turks of Badakhshan and the Upper Oxus valley), the Bhauttas or Tibetans (against whom the Kashmirian king is known from Chinese annals to have sought the support of the Emperor), and lastly the Daradas (or Dards still inhabiting the mountainous regions immediately to the north and north-east of Kashmir) On the other hand the author's description of his hero's victorious march throughout the whole of India from Gauda and Kalinga in the east along the sea-shore of Karnāta, the Kāverī, Malaya and the islands of the southern Ocean and thence to Dvārakā and Avanti in the west, may be safely dismissed as a repetition of the conventional accounts of *digvijaya* of great Indian kings given by the other poets Equally unhistorical are the hero's alleged victories over the Uttarakurus ("the hyperborean paradise" of the Indian Epics) and the Strīrājya ("the land of the amazons") in the north [Kalhana's description of Lalitāditya's *digvijaya* is vague enough, but Stein is hardly correct when he complains, (*Introd* p 90), of the absence of "all historical details" in the Chronicle Kalhana at any rate mentions among Lalitāditya's adversaries a Karnāta princess Rattā who ruled "like Durgā" over Daksiṇāpatha and is specially praised for making the roads over the Vindhyas evidently on her northern frontier "adequate and free from obstacles" It is difficult to understand why Stein (Bk IV, 153*n* following Wilson) suggested the identification of the Vindhyas here mentioned with the Eastern Ghats] After this it is no wonder that Kalhana should in all seriousness reproduce some of the popular legends which had gathered around this King Arthur or Emperor Charlemagne of Kashmirian history, including a legend (IV, 277-306) which Alberuni tells of king Kaniska More romantic even than the above is Kalhana's picture (IV, 402 ff.) of Jayāpīda, Lalitāditya's grandson and almost as great a hero of Kashmirian popular legend Based probably on genuine tradition is a notice of his patronage of the grammarian Ksīra (Ksīrasvāmin), Udbhata (author of a well-known Alaṃkāra work), Dāmodaragupta, (author of the *Kuttanīmata*) and Vāmana. Probably as authentic is the account of Jayāpīda's revival of Mahābhāsya studies in his own country, and his foundation of Jayapura as a new capital The lurid picture of Jayāpīda's tyranny in his later years and the strong Brahmanical reaction following therefrom bears the stamp of truth. On the other hand the stories of the hero's wanderings in the land of an imaginary king of Pundravardhana and of his wars with a king of

Nepal and one of "the eastern regions" otherwise unknown to history as well as of his conquest of "the land of the Amazons" have no pretence to historical truth. [For a full critical account of the Kings of the Fourth Book see Stein, I, *Introd.* pp. 87-97 and the references there given].

From the time of Avantivarman (885/6-883 A D.), founder of the Utpala dynasty, Kalhana gives for each reign the initial and closing dates recorded in years, months and days of the Laukika era which, as Buhler was the first to show, began in Kali Samvat 25 expired, i e. 3076-75 B.C. The accuracy of these dates has not yet been disproved by independent evidence. Again, the series of successive kings from Śaṁkaravarman, son of Avantivarman, onwards is corroborated by the unimpeachable evidence of coins. It has therefore been rightly concluded (Stein, I, *Introduction*, p 97) that the truly historical period of Kashmirian history begins with the Utpala dynasty above-mentioned That the tendency to embellish the historical narrative with poetical hyperbole persisted even to these times may be judged from Kalhana's record (V, 136-155) of Śaṁkaravarman's foreign expeditions These were undertaken, if we are to believe the Chronicler, to revive the tradition of "conquest of the world" The king, we are told, issued from "the Gate" of Kashmir with nine lakhs of foot-soldiers, although "the country had through the action of time become reduced in population and wealth" From the Chronicler's subsequent description it follows that the king's warlike operations were confined to the lower hills north of the Punjab and were attended with slight success (Cf. Stein, I, *Introd* , p 99) For the half-century preceding his own times, Kalhana's narrative has the advantage of drawing upon the statements of eye-witnesses Referring to the execution of four young princes by king Harsa Kalhana quotes (VII, 1066) the impressions of aged men in his own time who "let flow showers of tears while relating their story" In connection with the same reign he quotes (VII, 1123-24) verses sung by wandering poets (*kavicāranas*) ridiculing the folly of the king in seeking the hand of the queen of Vikramāditya VI Cālukya Kalhana's minute account of the last years of Harsa's reign must have been largely based on the statements of contemporaries like his own father Caṇpaka who held the high office of 'lord of the gate' at the time and a cook who was the sole surviving eye-witness of the tragedy of the king's death (Cf. Stein I, *Introd* , p. 73. Coming to the reign of Bhiksācara, Kalhana quotes (VIII, 917) the evidence of eye-witnesses about the valour of the king's rival Sussala in "the wonderful battle" near Parnotsa

It will be seen from the above that not to speak of the ancient times, the historical period alone in Kalhaṇa's chronicle extends over five centuries. Kalhaṇa justifies the claim that he makes in one of his introductory verses (I, 21) of writing a well-arranged work. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, in fact, is divided into eight *taraṅgas* ("waves"), of very unequal size it is true, each dealing with a single dynasty or a pair of them. Thus Book I consisting of 373 verses deals with the reigns of the "lost" fifty-two kings and their immediate successors of the Gonandīya dynasty. Book II (171 verses) is concerned with some isolated reigns. In Book III (530 verses) we have an account of the restored Gonandīya dynasty. Book IV (720 verses) is occupied with the Kārkoṭa dynasty and Book V (483 verses) with the Utpala dynasty. Book VI (368 verses) has for its theme the dynasties of Yaśaskara and Parvagupta. Book VII (1732 verses) is concerned with the first Lohara dynasty and Book VIII (3449 verses), the last and the longest of all, deals with the second Lohara dynasty down to the Chronicler's own time. (See the excellent chronological and genealogical tables in Stein, I, *Introduction*, pp. 134-145).

Political history, court scandals etc.

As a historical composition, the "River of Kings" is not confined in its scope to what is called political history, but is a work of varied contents. Especially in the last two Books which deal with recent and contemporary history the author gives us, as is natural under the circumstances, vivid accounts of the royal court including details of the royal family, the successive appointments to the principal administrative offices as well as court intrigues and scandals. As regards the last point, we may mention the revolting stories of debauchery are recorded of a number of evil Kings such as Cakravarman (V, 392ff.), Ksemagupta (VI, 158ff.), and Kalaśa (VII, 292ff.). What is quite extraordinary is that lapses from the Brahmanical moral or social code are industriously reported even of admittedly able rulers like Queen Diddā (VI, 189, *ibid.*, 321-22) and king Yaśaskara (VI, 69ff.), as well as of other characters who did not play any important part on the historical stage. These facts would seem to illustrate the completeness—unapproached by the chronicles of any other part of India—with which the pictures of court life have been handed down by the Kashmir Chronicle. We may further take them to illustrate the freedom

which the authors of historical Kāvyas, could if they chose, enjoy in recording the uglier aspects of their heroes' characters.

Administration

The *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, however, is far from being a mere Court-Gazetteer With his father occupying a high office (that of 'Lord of the Gate') under King Harsa, Kalhana could not but feel interested in the past and present administration of his native land In his First Book (I, 118-120) we find him making a notable attempt to trace the development of administrative institutions in his home-land in the dim past Even before Jalauka (one of the 52 'lost' kings) when the kingdom according to the chronicler, had not attained its proper development in wealth, judicial administration (*vyavahāra*) and the like, it was reputed to have possessed a staff of seven officials These were the *Dharmādhyaksa* (Judge), the *Dhanādhyakṣa* (Revenue Superintendent), the *Kosādhyakṣa* (Treasurer), the *Camūpati* (Army Commander), the *Dūta* (Envoy), the *Purohita* (Chaplain) and the *Daivajña* (Astrologer) Jalauka who is credited with clearing the land of *Mlecchas* and settling people of the four castes from Kānyakubja and other conquered countries, is said to have created eighteen offices 'in accordance with traditional usage' Coming to historical times, Kalhana ascribes (IV, 141-43) a further expansion of the official organisation to Lalitāditya who is said to have created by the side of the eighteen older offices the five new offices (or rather titles) beginning with the word 'the Great' These were the posts called *mahāpratīhāra, mahāsamdhivigraha, mahāśvaśālā, mahābhāṇḍāgāra* and *mahāsādhanabhāga* Further evidence of the complex bureaucratic organisation is found in connexion with the author's incidental references to a number of administrative posts in later times Some of these offices like those of the *Nagarādhikṛta* or *Nagarādhipa* (City Prefect), the *Pratīhāra* (Chamberlain), the *Daṇḍanāyaka* (Prefect of Police?) and the *Rājasthānīya* (Chief Justice?) had their counterparts in other parts of India Common to both also was the office of *Akṣapatala* (Accounts Office), though the Ekāṅgas of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, forming a kind of military police attached to the same are not traceable elsewhere. Other offices like those of the *Pādāgra* (apparently concerned with the collection of the revenue), the *Dvārapati* (Lord of the Gate, i e. commander of the frontier passes), the *Maṇḍaleśa* (Governor), the *Kampaneśa* (Commander-in-chief) and the

Sarvādhikārin (Prime Minister) seem more or less to be peculiar to Kashmir. (For references, see Stein II, Index s.v.).

As regards the branches of administration, we find a number of rulers in Kalhana's long record of kings and dynasties being credited with a high sense of justice and exceptional sagacity in the decision of difficult law-suits. Kalhana delights in telling anecdotes of these rulers, which no doubt were sufficiently impressive to be handed down to his own times by authentic tradition. To confine ourselves to the historical period, we may begin with the anecdote (IV, 55 ff) of king Candrāpīḍa and the tanner, which illustrates the former's anxiety to do justice to the meanest of his subjects. In the course of this story the king is made to utter the following noble words illustrative of the author's sense of his personality "If we, who are to look after right and wrong, do unlawful acts, who should proceed by the right path?" The same king's desire to do justice even at the risk of his life is illustrated by the following anecdote (IV, 82 ff) of a Brahman wife bereft of her husband by the witchcraft of an envious Brahman and seeking redress from the ruler. Of the Brahman king Yaśaskara (939-948 A D) two stories are told (VI, 14 ff) illustrative of his Solomon-like wisdom in the decision of difficult law-suits Even of so recent a king as Uccala (1101-1111 A D) Kalhaṇa records (VIII, 123 ff.) a similar judgment in a difficult suit between a depositor and a fraudulent merchant On the other hand Kalhana had only too many occasions, as we shall see presently, to refer to the violations of justice by evil rulers.

In the course of the long and detailed narrative of the history of his native land Kalhana from time to time throws light upon the administration of the finances. Of the seven offices which, according to Kalhaṇa's authorities, existed even before king Jalauka, two were certainly concerned with revenue administration These were the offices of the *Dhanādhyakṣa* and the *Kosādhyaksa* above-mentioned. Of the four new offices said to have been created by Lalitāditya, one viz., the *Mahābhāndāgāra* (Superintendent of the royal store-house) was evidently charged with collection of the royal revenue Probably the first authentic fact in the revenue history of Kashmir is the reference (IV, 620 ff.) to the cruel exactions (including the appropriation of the whole harvest for three years and confiscation of the *Agrahāras* of Brāhmans) perpetrated by Jayāpīḍa who was, according to Kalhaṇa, the first Kashmirian king to be ruled by the Kāyasthas (officials). We find also in the same reign the earliest reference (IV, 589) to the

creation of special funds (*Gañjas*) for which separate revenues were assigned and which were worked by separate officers. A later king, Śamkaravarman (883-902 A.D.), according to Kalhaṇa (V, 167), established two revenue offices namely the *Aṭṭapatibhāga* ('the share of the lord of the market') and the *Gṛhakṛtya* ('domestic affairs'). The former evidently was entrusted with the collection of the royal market dues, which can be traced back to the *Arthaśāstra*. The latter, which was in charge of one treasurer and five secretaries (V, 177), was entrusted with raising the revenue, as later references (V, 176, VII, 1428 etc) indicate, from manipulation of weights and measures, from fines on villagers, from fees levied on domestic occasions and so forth. Śamkaravarman's exactions extended (V, 167-176) to spoliations of temple-properties and temple-corporations (*parsad*) as well as systematic levy of forced labour and other imposts from the villagers As the author ruefully complains (V, 179-181), the result of the king's measures was that the Kāyasthas (officials), 'those sons of slaves', alone rose in power, while the learned lost all respect and the kings their royal dignity. Thus, as the author writes severely in his concluding judgment (V, 178), "This foolish [ruler] accepted [residence in] hell for himself, in order to benefit by his sinful acts future kings or the functionaries" Coming to later reigns, Kalhana refers (VI, 136) to financial exactions under King Parvagupta (949-950 A D). During the regency of Queen Diddā a low-born upstart holding the office of head of the treasury created a new revenue office and certain new imposts (VI, 266) A later king, Saṃgrāmarāja (1003-1028 A D) is spoken of (VII, 110) as fleecing his subjects. King Ananta (1028-1063 A D) is mentioned (VII, 144, 147, 189-94) not only as wasting his revenues on his favourites but also as planning the sacrilegious destruction of divine images In the same reign a wicked minister is said (VII, 203) to have introduced an impost of 1/12 while his good successor is said (VII, 211-212) to have abolished the royal privilege of marking the gold according to quality and price in order to remove the chance of oppression by later kings. King Kalaśa (1063-1089 A D), Ananta's son and successor, is mentioned (VII, 367) as raising a loan from rich persons, when marching against his father. Among Kalaśa's wicked acts immediately before his death are mentioned (VII, 696-97) his sacrilegious destruction of some divine images and confiscation of properties of those who died without issue. These exactions were out-done by Kalaśa's son Harṣa (1089-1101 A.D.) who carried out a wholesale spoliation of

temple-properties as well as defilement and destruction of divine images, and thus earned for himself the epithet of 'the Turuṣka' (VII, 1095). In connection with these exactions the tyrant is said (VII, 1091, 1103-04) to have created a number of new offices like those of the *Devotpāṭananāyaka* (prefect for the overthrow of divine images) and the *Arthanāyaka* (prefect of property). In the reign of Kalhana's contemporary king Jayasimha an unruly *Ḍāmara* is said (VIII, 2010) to have, after imprisoning the king's officers, 'collected the customs at the watch-station and had his own name stamped in red lead on the wares as if he were the king' This illustrates a method of receiving payment of tolls which has its antecedent in Kautilya's Arthaśāstra Reference is made (VIII, 1428) in the same reign to exactions of taxes on various auspicious occasions. (On the above cf the present writer's *Hindu Revenue System*, pp 249-252)

An interesting sidelight is thrown by Kalhana on municipal administration in his own time To the credit of a bravo who had earned the office of City Prefect by a political murder at the king's bidding, Kalhaṇa records (VIII, 3334 ff) that this officer first remedied the long-standing abuses such as the disuse of cash in commercial transactions and the imposition of fines on householders for moral lapses of married women But afterwards the same official punished many persons on the plea that they had received dancing girls in their households as married wives.

A unique interest belongs to the enlightened reign of Avantivarman (855/6-883 A.D) because of the extensive drainage and irrigation works constructed under the king's orders by an officer of untutored genius called Suvya The land of Kashmir, says the chronicler in introducing his account (V, 84-121), was always liable to devastating floods of the Mahāpadma (Volur) lake and the many streams Volunteering his services for preventing this calamity, Suyya by a very simple but ingenious contrivance deepened the bed of the Vitastā (Jhelum) at its two ends (the village Nandaka in Madavarājya and the gorge Yaksadara or 'the demon's cleft' in Kramarājya), cleaned the river-bed at its bottom after constructing a temporary stone dam, constructed new beds for the river at all threatened points and built protective stone embankments for seven *yojanas* (nearly 42 miles) along the river bank (apparently up its course above the Volur lake) (See Stein's notes on V, 85, 87, 103). With his usual topographic accuracy Kalhaṇa tells us how Suyya in the course of these operations shifted the junction of the Vitastā and the Sindhu from its old to its

existing position. On the land raised from the water by Suyya's efforts he founded many villages protected by circular dykes. These measures were followed up by the construction of extensive irrigation-works according to strictly technical processes described by the chronicler. Well might the enthusiastic author, steeped in Brahmanical lore, appraise Suyya's achievement in a single birth as equalling that of the God Viṣṇu in his four incarnations of Varāha, Paraśurāma, Rāmacandra and Kṛṣṇa. With his usual appreciation of concrete facts the author concludes by quoting the resulting fall in the price of rice, the staple produce of the valley. Formerly the average price of one *khārī* of rice was 200 *dīnnāras* in good years and as high as 1050 *dīnnāras* in times of famine But it was reduced to 36 *dīnnāras* after Suyya's changes.

Pious foundations and buildings of cities

With characteristic antiquarian zeal Kalhaṇa records from the earliest times (those of the lost 52 kings) down to his own time innumerable foundations of temples and the like by pious kings, queens, ministers and other officials and their wives. While the oldest references probably rest on popular tradition alone, those from the Kārkoṭa dynasty onwards have undoubtedly a historical basis. In one interesting passage (VIII, 2414) Kalhaṇa singles out Diddā among queens and Sussalā (wife of Jayasiṃha's minister Rilhaṇa) among ministers' wives as occupying the foremost rank for their numerous religious foundations. Foremost among the builders of towns and their shrines are the kings Pravarasena II (2nd half of the 6th century), Lalitāditya (1st half of the 8th century) and Avantivarman (855/6—883 A.D.). The first is credited with the construction of Pravarapura (on the site of modern Śrīnagar) with its shrines of Viṣṇu Jayasvāmin and Śiva Pravareśvara The second built the magnificent Mārtaṇḍa temple and the great city of Parihāsapura with its splendid temples of Viṣṇu Muktākeśava, Parihāsakeśava and Govardhanadhara as well as the equally famous Buddhist Rājavihāra and the colossal Buddha image The third built the city of Avantipura with its temples of Viṣṇu Avantisvāmin and Śiva Avantīśvara (For full archaeological notes on the above see the references quoted in Stein, I, Introd. pp. 84-85, 92, 97. See also *Ann. Rep. A.S I.*, 1914-15, 1916-17, and Ram Chandra Kak, *The Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, London 1933, pp. 118-25, 131-35, 146-49).

Charitable endowments

Connected with the above are Kalhaṇa's references to the creation of charitable endowments of various sorts by a number of royal and other donors. From the time of the lost 52 kings onwards Kalhana records numerous instances of the grant of *agrahāras* and *maṭhas* (hospices) by the kings, queens, high officials and their wives and so forth (For references see Stein, II, Index s v *agrahāra* and *maṭha*). As regards other endowments of a similar nature, king Narendrāditya I (Khiṅkhila) is said (I, 347) to have founded a permanent endowment (*akṣayinī*) for the feeding of Brahmans Of the saintly queen of Tuñjina I we are told (II, 58) that she established a hospice (*sattra*) 'where multitudes of indigent people coming from all parts receive food even at the present day'. A later king, Raṇāditya I, is said (III, 461) to have established a hospital (*ārogyaśālā*) for the healing of sick people Coming to historical times, a minister of king Jayāpīḍa is mentioned (IV, 494) as the author of a charity foundation (*bhaktaśālā*) while the 'foremost Kāyastha' of king Ananta's time is said (VII, 149) to have built a *maṭha* for the blind (*andhamaṭha*) King Yaśaskara is credited (VI, 87) with the foundation of a maṭha "for students from Āryadeśa who were devoting themselves to the acquisition of knowledge." Among the greedy and oppressive officials of king Sussala's reign Kalhaṇa singles out (VIII, 570-71) a Kāyastha who created a permanent endowment for the distribution of food (*avicchinnasattra*) giving relief to famine-stricken people from various foreign lands. Of the minister Rilhaṇa's wife Sussalā above-mentioned we are told (VIII, 2416) that she constructed all kinds of pious works such as water-wheels, wells and halls for students

It speaks much for Kalhaṇa's honesty as a historian that he faithfully records the pious foundations of admittedly bad rulers and ministers To take one conspicuous instance, he mentions, though as an example of the inscrutability of the human mind, the foundation of a Śaiva shrine by Mihirakula, a monster of cruelty. From the latter's tainted hands we are told (I, 305-7) *agrahāras* were received by Brahmans from Gandhāra "resembling himself in their habits and verily themselves the lowest of the twice-born" As the instance just quoted shows, Kalhaṇa has no praise for pious acts proceeding from such tainted sources Especially bitter is his denunciation of those evil rulers of the 'modern' period who despoiled foundations of previous kings for benefiting their own. Thus in denouncing the tyrant Śaṃkaravarman for building his town out of the spoils of Lalitāditya's

capital of Parihāsapura, he speaks (V, 160) with bitter satire of the 'poets and kings of these modern times' who 'augment their own work by plundering the poems or the property of others.' Describing the erection of a Śaiva temple by Kṣemagupta out of the spoils of a famous Buddhist *vihāra* and other decayed temples, Kalhana comments severely (VI, 174) upon the folly of those who feel elated in robbing the property of others but are ignorant of the same fate overtaking their own constructions When speaking of the pious foundation of a prince of his own time, Kalhana says with bitter irony (VIII, 3351), "This pure-minded man, though he was one of our time, did not proceed to plunder other foundations and to make grants of the property of poor people." On the other hand Kalhana expresses (VII, 122) his appreciation of the good sense of Saṃgrāmarāja who did not establish even a drinking-place on the ground that 'the wealth he owned was unlawfully acquired'

References to scholars and poets

As a scholar and poet, it was quite natural for Kalhana to be interested in the growth of learning in his land and the lives and fortunes of his fellow-poets According to a tradition recorded by him (I, 176) Candragomin and other scholars acting under the orders of king Abhimanyu I (one of the lost kings) revived the study of the Mahābhasya which had fallen into disuse through the absence of teachers and texts (The above follows the reading and translation of Stein in preference to those of Kielhorn *IA*, V, 107) A similar claim is made (IV, 488) evidently on more authentic grounds on behalf of king Jayāpīda Turning to another point, we find Kalhana mentioning (II, 16) a great poet Candaka, the author of a remarkable but unnamed play, as being the contemporary of king Tuñjīna I. Coming to the historical period, king Jayāpīda is said (IV, 489 ff) to have achieved enduring fame for his scholarship, while he is said to have bestowed his patronage upon the grammarian Kṣīra (probably identical with the well-known *Amarakośa* commentator), the Bhatta Udbhata (author of the famous *Alamkāraśāstra*) and the poet Dāmodaragupta (described as the author of the *Kuttanīmata*) King Avantivarman is praised (V, 33 ff) for his patronage of the poets Ānandavardhana (author of the well-known work called the *Dhvanyāloka*) and Ratnākara (known to be the author of the *Haravijaya* poem) The brilliant and accomplished Harsa in the early and glorious part of his reign is said (VII, 934-37) to have been such a

lavish patron of scholars that Bilhaṇa, the Kashmirian poet, enjoining high favour of the contemporary Cālukya king Vikramāditya VI thought even his great splendour a deception. On the other hand Kalhaṇa has too much honesty to omit mentioning a number of wicked kings who earned infamy by ignoring men of letters. Under the tyrant Śaṃkaravarman, we are told, (V, 204-206) poets like Bhallaṭa had to lead the meanest existence while a load-carrier drew a pay of 2000 *dinnāras* As the chronicler exclaims in indignant language, this boorish king 'who did not speak the language of the gods but used vulgar speech fit for drunkards' proved by his act his descent from a family of spirit-distillers.

Military affairs

Nothing in the *Rājataranginī* is more surprising than Kalhana's accurate and minute descriptions of military operations forming a considerable portion of the troubled history of Kashmir during later times. Again and again the author gives details of the routes of armies (including the distances and the seasons) which Stein's industrious research has proved to fit in exactly with facts What, however, constitutes his unique merit among the authors of historical *Kāvyas* is that he gives technical details of the marches, battles and sieges befitting a truly military historian To take a few instances, Kalhana strongly criticises (VII, 48 ff) through the mouth of 'the illustrious Śāhi Trilocanapāla' (of the Hindu Śāhīya dynasty) the rashness and incompetence of his Kashmirian ally Tunga (the minister of king Samgrāmarāja) in the fight against 'Hammīra' 'the leader of the Turuska army' (i e. Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna) Noticing that Tuṅga 'gave no thought to night-watches, the posting of scouts, to military exercises and other (preparations) proper for an attack', the Śāhi urged him, but in vain, to take up his position on the scarp of a hill till he had become familiar with 'the Turuska warfare.' The rejection of this wise advice led to the utter rout of the confederate host, with the result that it 'brought about the descent of the Turuṣkas on the whole surface of the earth' Again, when speaking (VII, 968 ff) of an expedition against the hill-state of Rājapurī in Harsa's reign, Kalhana carefully notes how the royal army delayed on the route 'fearing the heat of the Āṣādha month', and he mentions how at last success followed from the royal commander's ingenious contrivance of throwing burning arrows smeared with vegetable oil which made the enemy credit him with the

possession of 'the weapon of fire'. In connection with the siege of Srinagar by the rebellious Ḍāmaras in Sussala's reign, Kalhana's minute description (VIII, 729 ff. with Stein's notes) enables us to understand how the city was invested by different bodies of rebels from the south (on the bank of the Kṣiptikā stream), the north (by way of Amareśvara) and the east (on the Mahāsarit stream) The roads were kept in uproar with the troops marching out with music, with the return of the wounded, with the flight of routed soldiers and so forth The king whose courageous defence of the capital is highly praised by the chronicler, personally arranged for the treatment of the wounded, and encouraged his troops with gift of 'marching allowances, gratuities and medicines'. The rebels attacking from the east, being no match for the king's strong cavalry, marched by a narrow path along the embankment across the marshes lining the north of the (Dāl) lake "As they were strong in archers, they came off best in the fight in the narrow embankment across the lake" The king, disheartened by the treachery and mutiny of his troops and disaffection of his subjects, left the capital for the family stronghold of Lohara by a circuitous route which Stein very aptly explains by a reference to the advanced season The date of the king's flight is given as 'the 6th day of the dark half of Mārgaśiras in the year of the Laukika era 4196' (i e Nov 13th, 1120 A D) Equally admirable is Kalhana's detailed account (for which reference may be made to VIII, 1076 ff along with Stein's notes) of the fresh siege of Śrīnagar by the rebels in 1122 A D , the year following Sussala's restoration Even more impressive is Kalhana's account (VIII, 2505 ff) of the siege and capture of the rebel stronghold of Śirahśilā situated in a most inhospitable territory on the north-west frontier by king Jayasimha's forces in 1140 A D. Not only is the site of the castle (cf VIII, 2492) where it is said to be situated between the Sindhu river and the streams of the Madhumatī and the Muktāśrī) as well as the peculiar shape of its hill (cf VIII, 2528 where it is said to be 'narrow below where it projects into the stream and with a long stretched ridge') described with the author's usual accuracy, but also the physical and climatic conditions of the country around are clearly indicated (cf VIII, 2510-11 where reference is made to its 'trees of darkness' and its 'terrible' winter owing to the heavy snowfall). These data have enabled Stein to identify the site with the Ganeś Ghāṭī ridge situated on the Kisangangā about 2½ miles below the ancient shrine of Śāradā now called Sardi Kalhana's detailed account of the preparations

for the siege made by the royal forces have been shown by Stein to be in complete agreement with the physical and climatic conditions of the site. The 'Lord of the Gate' Udaya, as we learn from the chronicler, posted himself at the Drañga or frontier watch-station, which has been identified by Stein with the little village of the same name 'situated on the direct route from the Uttar *parganā* to the Śāradā Tīrtha (Śārdi) on the Kiṣangaṅgā' Stein explains this by reference to the strategic importance of the village which, being the meeting place of several valleys extending down from the water-shed to the Kiṣangaṅgā, forms an excellent position for preventing the enemy's retreat into Kashmir proper The other royal general Dhanya built rows of wooden huts for the besieging forces on the bank of the Madhumatī This step, according to Stein, was most necessary, as the Kiṣangaṅgā valley has sufficient level ground only near Śārdi above which the land is almost uninhabitable for a considerable distance, while the climate owing to the heavy rain and snowfall and the extensive forests and numerous neighbouring snowy peaks is even colder than what might be expected from its elevation of 6500 ft above sea-level The king, Kalhana continues, sent his generals immense supplies, a measure which, Stein says, was rendered necessary by the inhospitable nature of the country around Śārdi The means of transport was the same oppressive system of forced labour which, as Stein observes, was used for the annual transport of stores for the Gilgit garrison until the building of the Gilgit road a few years before his time Though the royal troops bravely held their own for three or four months, they were unable to make any impression, as they neglected to cut off the enemy's food supplies At length they were led by the direct orders of the resolute king to lay a regular siege to the castle Leaving his camp on the Madhumatī bank, general Dhanya advanced to the main approach to the castle and built a continuous line of block-houses whence at night he kept up fires burning so that 'even an ant could not move about without being noticed'. Dhanya further blocked the enemy's access to the water by keeping boats constantly plying about on the river Explaining these details with reference to the local topography, Stein says that the high ridge to the south of the castle which was its main approach and must have been occupied by Dhanya would enable him to cut off the enemy's supplies from the neighbouring hamlets and prevent all exits from the fort Again, the keeping of boats (or rather rafts) for preventing access to the river which flows both to the north and west of the castle, 'would be

practicable in the low water of the winter season when the siege took place by fastening the rafts to ropes fixed on the opposite river-bank north of the castle' In the result the rebel Ḍāmara leader was so much afflicted with privations of food and drink that he surrendered two of the pretenders who had taken refuge with him to the royalists The victorious general raised the siege and returned to the capital in triumph. (On the above, see Stein, II, Appendix, Note I *The Castle of Śirahśilā*, and his notes on VIII, 2507, 2509-13, and 2583).

Foreign relations

Kalhaṇa's full and detailed narrative of reigns and dynasties throws valuable light from time to time upon the foreign relations of the kingdom during the past centuries It is indeed to be regretted that he is completely silent about the political power of Kashmir at the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit (*c.* 631-33 A.D.) probably during the reign of Durlabhavardhana, when the kingdom, according to the Chinese pilgrim, exercised sovereignty over all adjacent countries on the west and south down to the Punjab plains (For references see Stein I, *Introduction*, p 87) Making all allowance for Kalhaṇa's exaggerations we may say that the Kashmirian power undoubtedly reached its height in the reign of Lalitāditya, who indeed is credited by the chronicler (IV, 146 ff) with a victorious march all over India as well as extensive conquests of fabled lands on the west and north The independent evidence of the Annals of the T'ang dynasty shows how Lalitāditya used both arms and diplomacy to curb the menace of the Tibetan power, for the Kashmirian king claimed not only to have won repeated victories over his northern neighbours and made common cause against them with a king of Central India, but also invited the help of a considerable Chinese force against the common enemy (See Stein I, *Introduction*, p 91) On the other hand the author's account of the foreign expeditions of Jayāpīḍa resolves itself, as Stein well observes (*Introduction*, p 95), into a mass of mere legendary anecdotes. The expedition of Śaṁkaravarman, inspite of Kalhana's magniloquent description (IV, 136 ff), appears from his own account to have been confined to the Southern hill-states and the adjoining Punjab plain and to have been attended with indifferent success But it brought Kashmir at any rate into contact with the powerful Hindu Śāhīya kingdom under its first king Lallīya Śāhi This contact was renewed in the reign of Gopālavarman (902-904 A.D.) when the powerful minister Prabhākaradeva (V, 232-33) vanquished the rebel-

lious Śāhi of Udabhāndapura (i.e. Sāmanta, the second Śāhi ruler in Alberuni's list) and bestowed the throne upon Toramāna-Kamaluka (i.e. Kamalu, the third king of Alberuni's list) The traditional connection was renewed when Bhīma Śāhi, the next king of the dynasty, had his daughter's daughter Diddā married to king Kṣemagupta and he built a Viṣṇu temple in her adoptive country VI, 177-78 Again, when Trilocanapāla the last independent king of the dynasty sought the help of Saṃgrāmarāja against the forces of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna, the minister Tunga marched out (VII, 47 ff.) with a large army but shared in the disastrous defeat which, to quote Kalhana's words, 'brought about the descent of the Turuṣkas on the whole surface of the earth' (VII, 70) Ordinarily, however, the political relations, friendly or hostile, of Kashmir were confined to the petty hill-states on its frontiers Among the more important of such states were the kingdoms of Kāṣṭhavāṭa (modern Kistwar on the upper Chinab) and Campā (modern Chamba on the upper Ravi), the hill-states of the Dārvābhisāra (the lower and midde hills between the Chinab and the Jhelum) including above all Rājapurī (modern Rajauri) and Lohara (modern Loharin on the north-west of Rajauri), the kingdom of Uraśā (modern Hazara district between the Jhelum and the Indus), Daradadeśa or the territory of the Darads on the upper Kiṣangangā, the territory of the Bhauttas (or Tibetans) comprising as early as in Chinese times the tracts of Baltistan and Ladakh Of these states Rājapurī, no doubt because of its situation on the most direct route to the Punjab, was often brought into close relations with Kashmir From the 10th century onwards Rājapurī was practically an independent state, though the Kashmir rulers (as Kalhana tells us) frequently sent expeditions into the country The adjoining hill-state of Lohara was intimately connected with Kashmir from the beginning of the 11th century when a branch of its ruling family ascended the Kashmir throne. Subsequently this branch succeeded also to Lohara which became the family stronghold of the Kashmirian kings and as such played a conspicuous part in the history of the kingdom [On the above see Stein II, *Memoir on the Ancient Geography of Kaśmīr*, Ch IV, Section I]

Famine, flood and fire

With his characteristic passion for facts Kalhana has several times recorded careful details of natural calamities that overtook his native land in the past. Already in the reign of Tuñjīna I, one of the ancient kings,

we hear (II, 17-54) of a great famine which was relieved by the noble-hearted king and his saintly queen Coming down to the historical period, Kalhaṇa mentions (V, 270-78) a dreadful famine, resulting from a devastating flood, to have taken place in 917-18 A D during the misrule of the tyrant Pārtha and his wicked ministers The chronicler vividly illustrates the resulting rise in prices by saying that 1 *khārī* of rice sold for 1000 *dīnnāras* In the reign of Abhimanyu I (958-972 A D) a great conflagration broke out at Śrīnagar, of which the extent is carefully noted by the chronicler (cf VI, 190-191 where the fire is said to have started from near the Tuṅgeśvara market and spread as far as Bhikṣukīpāraka near the shrine of Viṣṇu Vardhanasvāmin and destroyed the great buildings within the limits of 'Vetāla's measuring-line') A great famine caused, is before, by a flood swept over the country in 1099-1100 A.D (VII, 1219 ff), when king Harṣa was oppressing his subjects and a plague was raging The cumulative effect of the people's sufferings is well described by the author in the following words 'On this land which suffered wounds, as it were, of the king's infliction there fell also another series of calamities which were like caustics thrown (on those wounds)' (VII, 1216) What terrible havoc was caused by this outbreak is illustrated by Kalhaṇa with reference to the famine prices of some principal commodities These are given as 500 *dīnnāras* for 1 *khārī* of rice, 1 *dīnnāra* for 2 *palas* (i e as Stein calculates 960 *dīnnāras* for 1 *khārī*) of grape juice and 6 *dīnnāras* for 1 *pala* (i e according to Stein's calculations 11,520 *dīnnāras* for 1 *khārī*) of wool 'Of salt, pepper, assafoetida and other articles it was difficult even to hear the name' (On the above see Stein II, Appendix, Note H *The Term Dīnnāra and the Monetary System of Kashmir*, esp pp 325-26 Comparing these figures with the prices of Moslem times Stein proves the extraordinary cheapness of all indigenous products in Kashmir not only in Hindu times but for centuries thereafter) In 'the terrible year of the Laukika era 4199' i e 1123-24 A.D, when Sussala was besieged in his capital by the rebellious Ḍāmaras, a great fire was started by them which reduced the whole city to ashes. With his usual care Kalhaṇa records the extent of this awful calamity (cf VIII, 1169 and 1171-72 where we are told that the fire started in the Kāṣṭhila quarter and then spread to Mākṣikasvāmin and Indradevibhavana Vihāra) This was followed by a terrible famine of which the effects are described by the chronicler with grim vividness (VIII, 1206 ff.).

Miscellaneous affairs

Kalhana's interest in the past history of his native land is not confined to the affairs of finance and justice, pious constructions, peace and war. Among king Kalaśa's good acts during the latter part of his reign is mentioned (VII, 606) the king's introduction of a taste for choral songs (*upāṅgagīta*) and a careful selection of female dances 'as customary in other lands' The accomplished Harsa in the early part of his reign is said to have introduced into his court (VII, 921 ff) gorgeous fashions of dress and ornament and adopted a new coin-type borrowed from the gold-coinage of Karnāta.

Military usurpation of power

In the course of his work Kalhana has occasion to describe the terrible evils of the usurpation of power by the military forces of the Crown For nearly 30 years (904-36 A D.) an organised body of foot-soldiers called Tantrins was so powerful as to make and unmake kings at their will in the fashion of the Praetorian Guard of the Roman Empire in the early centuries of the Christian era The kings who were in the service of the Tantrins ousted one another 'like village officials' by offering greater and greater bribes As the chronicler writes (V, 266) with patriotic grief and shame, "In this land, the rulers of which had conquered Kānyakubja and other (countries), the kings (now) maintained themselves by giving bills of exchange to the Tantrins" It was during this period that the kingdom was overtaken by the severe famine of 917-18 A D to which reference has been made immediately above The callous indifference shown by the evil king and his ministers is condemned (V, 278) by the chronicler in words of pathetic contrast with the good old times "Thus demons of kings led to destruction at that time those subjects who had been dear to Tuñjīna [I], Candrāpīda and other protectors of the people" The series of short inglorious reigns during this time is compared by the chronicler (V, 279) with 'the bubbles produced in the water by a down-pour of rain on a dull day' The evil lives of licentious queens (V, 281-286) who competed for the favour of powerful ministers completed the sombre picture. When at last the power of the Tantrins was broken by a great victory won by king Cakravarman in 936 A D, the chronicler could exultingly say (V, 338-40) that the victor had like a great snake destroyed those evil Tantrins who had like cruel snake-charmers reduced princes

'deserving of respect, unapproachable and of great descent' to helplessness and had wantonly exposed them to public shame.

Feudal anarchy

A potent source of misrule in Kashmir in later times was the rise to power of the Ḍāmaras, the landholding barons great and small. Already during the reign of king Avantivarman, reference is made to a powerful member of this class who rendered himself obnoxious by plundering temple endowments and was deservedly put to death in a summary fashion by the king's faithful minister Śūra. It was with the help of Dāmaras, as Kalhana informs us, that Cakravarman won his great victory over the Tantrins to which reference has been made just now From the accession of the Lohara dynasty in 1003 A D Kalhana's narrative shows how the Ḍāmaras acquired such military and political influence as to become an unending danger to the royal authority. Harsa made a notable attempt to exterminate this turbulent class, but the attempt cost him his throne and his life The succeeding reigns down to Kalhana's own time form almost a continuous record of struggles between the central authority and the Ḍāmaras or else between the different sections of the Dāmaras themselves, that were aided by the rise of successive pretenders (On the above see Stein II, Appendix, Note G, *The Dāmaras,* where full references are given To Stein belongs the credit of first clearly explaining the meaning of Dāmara). We shall see later how Kalhana's painful experience of the habitual lawlessness of the Ḍāmaras coloured his judgment on this class as a whole

Historical portraits

In analysing the contents of Kalhaṇa's great work we have reserved for consideration in the last place his remarkable series of character-sketches In truth it may be said of Kalhana that he stands unique among the known authors of historical *kāvyas* for the individuality of his historical portraits From the commencement of the historical period and specially for his recent times the throng of characters—kings, queens, ministers and other officials, territorial nobles, courtiers, parasites, pretenders—that fills the stage in Kalhaṇa's narrative appear before us in the reality of their ordinary lives and experiences. Even the groups and classes of people like the Brahman assemblies and the priestly corporations, the native and foreign soldiery, the

merchants and officials, are reproduced before our eyes with all their characteristic weaknesses or strong points. We propose to illustrate this point by giving a brief retrospect of the period from the beginning of the Utpala dynasty onwards. Avantivarman, the founder of the dynasty, is presented before us as an able ruler generous towards his subjects (cf. V, 18: 'The wise Avantivarman gave away the whole treasure in alms and allowed only the regal cauris and parasol to remain of that splendour'), affectionate towards his relations and followers (cf V, 42: 'Avantivarman who was free from jealousy granted permanent royal prerogatives to his uterine brothers and Śūra and the latter's son'), lavish in his pious foundations (V, 23 ff.). A pretty anecdote recorded about him (V, 17) proves him to be above royal conventions and formalities The king was served with equal zeal and ability by his minister Śūra (cf V, 63 'Such a king and such a minister whose relations were never disfigured by the blemish of mutual hatred have not otherwise been seen or heard of'), who is praised (V, 33 ff) for his patronage of learning and his pious foundations An anecdote told of him illustrates his deep loyalty to the king and his strict justice awarded without respect for rank or personal relations. This relates to the story of his summary execution of a powerful Dāmara, his own favourite, who had roused the king's displeasure by plunder of temple property The chronicler tells a touching story (V, 43 and 124) relating how the king, although a Vaiṣṇava, acted as a Śaiva out of deference to his Śaiva minister, but at the approach of death confessed with folded hands his Vaiṣṇava faith to his minister The illustrious Suyya who shed lustre on the reign by his construction of extensive drainage and irrigation works is fittingly praised by the chronicler for his uncanny skill (cf. V, 102 'He made the different streams, with their waves, which are like the quivering tongues of snakes, move about according to his will just as a conjurer does with the snakes'). He is also mentioned (V, 120) for his grant of a village called after his own name to the Brahmans Śaṃkaravarman, son and successor of Avantivarman, at first won fame as a conqueror and builder, but afterwards turned into a cruel oppressor of his subjects Great point is given to the author's condemnation of the tyrant by an imaginary remonstrance put into the mouth of the noble-hearted Prince Gopālavarman to which the king replies in a brutally cynical speech ending with the words 'You yourself should grant me to-day this one boon May you not after ascending the throne oppress your subjects even

more!' (V, 202) Under the weak successors of Gopālavarman the kingdom fell a prey to the Tantrins, the Praetorian Guard of Kashmirian history, to whom reference has been made above. Cakravarman who crushed the power of the Tantrins by a great victory made himself infamous by raising a Caṇḍāla woman to the rank of Chief Queen and making her relatives and followers his ministers and favourites (cf. V, 391: 'Robbers as ministers, a Śvapāka woman as queen, Śvapākas as friends What wonders were left for king Cakravarman to achieve?') The baseness of the ministers who with a few honourable exceptions stooped to flatter the upstarts and of the degraded Brahmans who accepted *agrahāras* from the sinful king is justly condemned (V, 389-393, 403) by Kalhana The author's injured Brahmanical pride manifests itself in indignant denunciation of the presumption of the Caṇḍāla queen in entering divine temples (V, 394) and bitter satire on the arrogance and boorishness of her father who rebuked a high official in the vernacular for neglecting to carry out the royal orders for granting a village to himself (V, 397-398). When the king at length was justly murdered by some Dāmaras, Kalhana could say that 'the wicked lover of the Śvapākī' was 'killed by robbers like a dog' (V, 413) His successor was 'the evil ruler resembling a demon', justly called the 'mad Avanti'. The evil deeds of 'this most degraded of kings' included indulgence in coarse buffooneries, the brutal murder of his father and other relatives, and atrocious cruelties towards women and labourers (V, 414-48)

Yaśaskara who was elected to the throne by a Brahman assembly after the extinction of the Utpala dynasty is described by Kalhana as a king of great wisdom, ability and justice whose rule was an unmixed blessing to the subjects (VI, 6-13) With some inconsistency however, the same king is elsewhere (VI, 70ff) stigmatised for amassing riches, for treachery in getting rid of Tantrins and for private vices Kalhana describes with moving pathos the sad end of this king who, afflicted with a painful disease and retiring to a sacred spot to die, was deserted by most of his followers, was robbed by some others and was at length poisoned by those who were anxious to seize the kingdom Among other characters of this period we may mention the villainous and scheming minister Parvagupta, born in a humble writer's family but filled with the unholy ambition of seizing the throne on seeing 'kings who were like worms' ever since the rise of the Tantrins to power (V, 421) Instigating the tyrant 'the mad Avanti' to destroy his own family, Parvagupta deceived even the good king Yaśaskara

into giving him a high office and repayed his benefactor by robbing him on his death-bed (VII, 102-3, 118) Parvagupta found his opportunity after the accession of the child-king Samgrāmadeva, Yaśaskara's son and successor, when he quickly seized the supreme power and assumed royal honours. Failing to destroy the child by witchcraft, he suddenly attacked the palace and killed the king, and seized the throne (VI, 121-125). Other base acts recorded of him by the chronicler, included his pandering to Avanti's buffooneries and cruelties (V, 420 ff.) and lusting though in vain, for a nobleminded queen of Yaśaskara (VI, 138-144) In the following half-century the most outstanding figure of Kashmirian history was Diddā, Queen of Parvagupta's son and successor Ksemagupta Descended on her mother's side from the illustrious Śāhi dynasty of Udabhāndapura, she gained complete ascendancy over her worthless husband, after whose death she ruled successively as regent for her son and three grandsons and at length by her own right Cruel and self-indulgent, with a strong touch of feminine inconsistency (cf VI, 193: 'The king's mother and guardian, confused in her mind and listening to every body, after woman's wont, did not reflect what was true and what not'), of a nature intensely suspicious, not too proud to conciliate disaffected Dāmaras (cf. VI, 282: 'The queen, fearing a rebellion, disregarded the shame of humiliation and exerted herself to appease them How can those who are absorbed by selfishness have a sense of honour?'), with an insatiable thirst for power, she was yet gifted with high political and diplomatic talents, with capacity for firm action (cf VI, 256-58 where she is said to have exterminated 'those treacherous ministers who during sixty years from the year of the Laukika era 3977, had robbed sixteen kings from king Gopālavarman to Abhimanyu of their dignity, lives and riches'), with a short spell of pious devotion towards deities and tender regard for her subject's welfare (cf VI, 295, 'From that time forward the wealth which she had acquired by evil acts became purified through her astonishing deeds of piety', VI, 297 'From the time that he had roused in her the priceless affection for her people and she had abandoned her evil ways, the queen became esteemed by everyone') Among Diddā's ministers may be mentioned Phalguna, a faithful counsellor of Yaśaskara and Ksemagupta, 'who out-shone all by his counsel, courage, energy and other good qualities' (VI, 199), and having nobly sought refuge from the queen's unjust persecutions in voluntary exile, returned to her service at her call and served her faithfully till his death. Even the queen

felt such respect for his character that she concealed her cruelty and malignity till his death after which she 'committed hundredfold excesses by open misconduct' (VI, 314). An equally attractive and still more honourable character was 'the faithful Naravāhana, the best of ministers' (VI, 260), who again and again proved his loyalty and valour by singly fighting the rebels but was at last driven to commit suicide by the queen's unjust suspicions. His sad end is said by the chronicler (VI, 278) to be befitting a man with a high sense of honour Less attractive is the figure of Yaśodhara who deserted the rebels to accept the office of Commander-in-Chief from the queen and afterwards, going over, to the enemy's side was captured and justly punished by his infuriated sovereign (VI, 218 ff) Of a decidedly evil type are the ministers Rakka and Sindhu who poisoned the queen's ears against her most faithful servants (VI, 233, 267) Sindhu's brother Bhuyya, on the other hand, is praised by the chronicler for encouraging the queen in her pious acts and rousing in her 'the priceless affection for her people'.

Samgrāmarāja, who ascended the Kashmir throne by Diddā's nomination and became the founder of the Lohara dynasty, is described by the chronicler as indolent and pleasure-loving and yet of sufficient spirit to resent the domination of the all-powerful minister Tunga (cf VII, 72 "The king felt annoyed at his dependence on Tuṅga, even an animal's spirit is pained by dependence on others') The king disgraced himself by causing the assassination of Tunga by base teachers and by conferring offices on wicked and incapable men after the latter's death Tunga who was the son of a Khaśa villager from the neighbouring territory of Parnotsa and was raised by Diddā's favour to the high office of Prime-Minister, is described by Kalhana as a man of great courage and capacity which failed him in his unfamiliar warfare with Hammīra (Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna) and afterwards in his choice of low-born favourites like the Kāyasthas Bhadreśvara and Candramukha to high offices. Hariraja son of Samgrāmarāja who enjoyed a short reign of only 22 days is warmly praised by the chronicler for the efficiency and goodness of his rule (VII, 129 · 'He whose orders were never infringed cleared the land of thieves and prohibited the closing of doors in the market-street at night') On the other hand the queen-mother Śrīlekhā is justly blamed by the chronicler for her licentious character and her unnatural thirst for power (VII, 123 ff. and 133 ff) Kalhana's description of Ananta, son and successor of Harirāja, shows us a

king possessing high courage in fighting rebellious Dāmaras and tender solicitude for his faithful troops (VII, 156 ff), but wasteful and extravagant 'like one born on the throne' (cf. VII, 144ff. mentioning the exorbitant salaries of 1½ lakh and 80,000 *dīnnāras* daily drawn by two of the king's Śāhi favourites also cf. VII, 188 ff. describing the king's extravagant gifts to his favourite horse-trainers and two foreigners one of whom took the throne and diadem as the security for his debt). Towards the end of his long reign he fell completely under the influence of his Queen Sūryamatī (cf VII, 199 'From that time onwards it was the queen who took the king's business in hand, while the king left off talking about his prowess and did what he was bid to do'), who at first led him to a virtuous life (cf VII, 201 'Wise Anantadevi surpassed even the *munis* by his devotion to Śiva, his vows, bathings, liberality, morals and other virtues') and brought him the services of the wise and faithful minister Haladhara and the latter's valiant nephew Bimba (VII, 208 ff) But the same queen afterwards induced the king against the advice of his wise ministers to abdicate the throne in favour of their unworthy son Kalaśa Even when Ananta resumed the royal power, he neglected again and again under the evil influence of his Queen to chastise his son in time Too late the king realised the baneful consequences of his submission to his wife's will (cf the reproachful words put into Ananta's mouth, VII, 423 ff, beginning with the words, 'Pride, honour, valour royal dignity, power, intellect, riches—what is it, alas, that I have not lost by following my wife's will') and with her counter-reproaches ringing in his ears, sought relief in suicide (cf. VII, 453 'The king who ought to have been accustomed to ease found at last occasion, freed from the worrying of his wife and son, to stretch out his legs and sleep') The Queen Sūryamatī is described by Kalhana as a wise and devoted wife (cf VII, 197 where she is stated to have redeemed out of her own savings the royal throne and diadem taken by a foreign merchant as a security for the king's debt) and a lady of great piety (cf VII, 180 ff giving a list of her pious foundations and munificent gifts of *agrahāras* to Brahmans) But all her virtues were brought to naught by her blind love for her unworthy son which landed both herself and the king in endless miseries and at length forced the latter, as told above, to find refuge in suicide The Queen nobly atoned for her fault by burning herself on the funeral pyre of her husband amid the lamentations of her people At the last tragic scene her fine womanly qualities were shown by her eager, though vain, wish to see

her son, her sipping the water of the sacred Vitastā for obtaining final deliverance and, last but not the least, her solemn oath attesting to the purity of her moral character. When 'she leapt with a bright smile from the litter into the flaming fire', 'the sky became encircled and reddened with sheets of flame just as if the gods, in order to celebrate her arrival had covered it with minium' (VII, 478-479) Three faithful male and as many female servants whose names are carefully recorded by the chronicler followed their unfortunate mistress to death.

King Kalaśa whose reign is described by the chronicler in great detail, is presented as a mixture of opposites (cf VII, 534 where Kalhana refers to the king's doings as being of a mixed character) Led by 'the wretched foreigners' and other evil associates in early youth into shameless debauchery (VII, 273 ff) of which the evil effects were felt even in the king's old age (VII, 519 ff), behaving with base ingratitude towards his doting parents (VII, 366 ff.), occasional plunderer of temple endowments (VII, 570) and sacrilegious destroyer of divine images (VII 696), he was yet capable of vigilant watchfulness over state affairs (VII, 507 ff.), of establishing pious foundations (VII, 525 ff) and of introducing improved fashions of song and dance (VII, 606). The very detailed account (VII, 617 ff) of the relations between Kalaśa and his eldest son Prince Harsa in the years immediately preceding the king's death is interesting as illustrating the mixed feelings of tenderness and suspicion which they entertained towards each other. The weak side of Kalaśa's character was shown by his retiring to die in the Mārtanda shrine, although he had been heretofore a worshipper of Śiva and had performed *tāntric* rites under the direction of Gurus (cf VII, 712· 'The pride which he had before shown in the instructions of his Gurus was rendered ridiculous by such cowardly submission more befitting miserly wretches and the like' In connexion with the above, Stein's mention of Kalaśa's late conversion to *Vaiṣṇava* worship (VII 712 *n* is a slip) Kalaśa was fortunate enough to be served by a succession of able ministers who made the king's power feared and respected by the neighbouring hill rājās, eight of whom assembled to do him honour at his capital (VII, 587) Among these ministers we have to mention the valiant and faithful *rājaputra* Bijja who after serving the king with exemplary loyalty sought refuge from the king's unjust suspicion in a voluntary exile, the resourceful Vāmana whose wonderful official acts were remembered even down to Kalhana's day and who alone cared to perform the king's funeral rites after

his death, the brave Malla who won high fame by his successful invasion of Uraśā (VII, 585 ff.), the valiant but irritable Kandarpa whom Kalaśa could only with difficulty persuade to stick to his office (cf. the characteristic anecdote told of him VII, 603-04 which has every appearance of truth) and who lived to distinguish himself by his capture of Rājapurī during Harṣa's reign and being driven to exile by his ungrateful master was remembered by the latter with regret in the last days of his misery. Among the king's parasites was the villainous Viśśavaṭṭa who first urged Harṣa to kill his father (VII, 617 ff.) and then betrayed the Prince (VII, 629) and was justly executed by the latter after his accession.

Kalhaṇa describes Utkarṣa, son and successor of Kalaśa, as a mean and miserly character whose 'only daily occupation was to inspect the hoards of the treasury and to weigh them' (VII, 756) and who thereby earned the just reprobation of his own stepmothers and his brother as well as all respectable citizens (VII, 758-760, 773-74). Among his ministers was the cruel but faithful Nonaka who advised Harsa's execution (as he had done in the last reign) and afterwards upbraided the king for his folly in disregarding his advice (VII, 782 ff) After Utkarsa's death Nonaka was imprisoned and executed by Harṣa who however regretted the death of 'a man of a large mind and devoted to his master' (VIII, 890).

For sheer mixture of contradictory qualities the character of Harṣa, Utkarsa's elder brother and successor, stands unrivalled. In an eloquent passage (VII, 868 ff) prefacing the account of the reign, Kalhana mentions the incomprehensible character of this king which was quite unlike that of other kings dealt with by him The story of king Harṣa, he explains 'has seen the rise of all enterprises and yet tells of all failures', 'brings to light all kinds of settled plans and yet shows the absence of all policy' 'displays an excessive assertion of the ruling power and yet has witnessed excessive disregard of orders' 'tells of excessive abundance of liberality and of equally excessive persistence in confiscation' 'gives delight by an abundant display of compassion and shocks by the superabundance of murders' 'is rendered charming by the redundance of pious works and soiled by the superabundance of sins' 'is attractive on all sides and yet repulsive, worthy of praise and deserving of blame'. Even as a Prince, Harsa is described (VII, 609-611) as 'possessed of exceptional powers', 'knowing all languages, 'a good poet in all tongues', 'a depository of all learning', who patronised distinguished men from other lands. Elsewhere

(VII, 942) he is mentioned as the author of songs of such tender pathos that they were appreciated even during Kalhana's lifetime. (That these encomiums were well deserved is proved by the almost similar terms in which the contemporary Kashmirian poet Bilhana writes of Harsa in his *Vikramāṅkacarita* See references in Stein, VII, 609-10*n* In the same context Stein refers to the quotations of verses ascribed to a certain Harsadeva in a number of Sanskrit anthologies). Kalhana describes in striking language Harṣa's extraordinary physical frame and commanding presence (VII, 874-878) as well as the splendour and brilliance of the king's court (VII, 881 ff) We are expressly told that Harsa introduced new and elegant fashions of dress and ornament (VII, 921 ff) and that he borrowed a coin-type from the Deccan (This last statement is supported by the discovery of Harṣa's unique gold coinage imitated from the Deccan models See Cunningham, *Coins of Mediaeval India*, p 34) The author also speaks (VII, 934 ff.) of Harsa's lavish patronage of men of learning which made even Bilhana enjoying the splendid patronage of the contemporary Cālukya king sigh for his favour. But such high praise was not to be bestowed upon the king for long. With well-deserved severity Kalhana exposes (VII, 1001 ff) the perversity of the king who led by evil counsellors drove his valiant and faithful Commander-in-Chief Kandarpa into exile, who executed a number of young princes without any cause, whose wholesale confiscation of temple treasures and destruction of divine images earned for him the designation of a Turuska, who not content with his accumulated treasures oppressed the people with imposts of all kinds Other acts of folly mentioned (VII, 1120 ff) by Kalhana (which, as he himself says, would appear incredible to posterity) included an unholy passion for the beautiful Cālukya Queen, the worship of slave-girls posing as goddesses and so forth His want of moral sense 'as befitted the son of king Kalaśa' was exhibited (VII, 1147 ff) by the liberties he took with his step-mothers and sisters, his partaking of pig's flesh etc. The king's cowardice was conspicuously displayed in his failure to take two successive fortresses, while his morbid cruelty was shown by his imposing heavy fines upon the people already afflicted with plague, flood and famine and still more by his ferocious persecution of Ḍāmaras Well might the chronicler state that some demon had descended in the form of Harsa 'to destroy this land hallowed by gods, tīrthas and rshis' (VII, 1243). The chronicler goes on to mention some of the king's peculiar habits including 'cruelty, excessive conduct, meanness and pleasure in

doing things which befitted the god of death' which were 'like those of a goblin'.

The author's moving account of the last days of Harṣa, which is one of the master-pieces of historical description, gives us in studiously simple language the picture of a king whom an unending series of misfortunes had bereft of all resolution and wisdom and even of personal courage (cf. VII, 1454 'His wisdom, bold resolution and decision vanished all at once in his misfortune, when the time of his ruin had approached') and the tragedy of whose fall was redeemed only by his tender affection for his noble son Bhoja, his belated remorse for the wrong done to his subjects and his loyal servants in former years, and last but not the least, the heroism which he displayed at the time of his death Kalhana tells us how Harṣa surrounded by his foes and deserted by most of his troops neglected the wise advice of his few faithful ministers to retire to the family strong-hold of Lohara (VII, 1386 ff), how he failed to muster up courage to seek his own death (VII, 1407), how at the sight of the awful tragedy of his queens and princesses burning themselves in the royal palace after his own defeat at the city bridge-head he continued muttering to himself an ancient verse ('The fire which has risen from the burning pains of the subjects does not go out until it has consumed the king's race, fortune and life' VII, 1581), how he made his last faithful minister Canpaka leave his side in a vain quest for his departed son (VII, 1587), how when deserted even by the *rājaputras* and denied shelter in every house of note in the capital he failed to remember a faithful Dāmara who alone had kept faithful 'like a true wife never turning the eyes towards anyone else' (VII, 1630 31), how when he heard the news of the death of his well-beloved son he in his misery fancied that he saw the son 'as a child with his limbs adorned with strings of pearls and resting on his own breast (VII, 1675), how he gently upbraided his faithful attendant who reminded him of the selfish indifference of his subjects in a speech of ineffable tenderness for his lost son (cf VII, 1687 'If I myself after hearing that my son, the life of my life, is dead, yet remain here as if all were right, how can anyone else be blamed for showing indifference?'), and how at the last moment, finding himself surrounded by his foes to whom he had been basely betrayed, he sold his life dearly, showing even at the end the magnanimity worthy of a great prince (VII, 1702 and 1705 ff). At the close of his narrative Kalhaṇa sums up the causes of Harṣa's failure in words which can hardly be regarded as

complete For Harsa's failure, according to the author (VII, 1715-16) was due to his aversion to battle alone or else only to his want of independent judgment.

Of the members of Harsa's family we may first mention the bold and resolute Prince Bhoja, 'foremost of the fighters', who repulsed Sussala's attack on the capital (VII, 1525 ff) and afterwards met a heroic death in fighting against his treacherous servants (VII, 1654 ff.) Mention may also be made of the heroic Śāhi and other Queens who burnt themselves in 'the four-pillared pavilion of the palace of a hundred gates' when Uccala with his Dāmaras burst into the city (VII, 1579) We may, lastly, refer to Harṣa's bold and impetuous brother Prince Vijayamalla who helped his release from prison and accession to the throne by a timely rising and who afterwards, when led into treason by the king's unjust persecution, fought his way with his brave wife through the royal forces only to be killed by an avalanche.

Among the king's ministers we may first speak of the cunning city-prefect Vijayasimha who took the decisive step in raising Harsa to the throne and putting Utkarsa under arrest A very attractive figure is Candrarāja who justified his high descent (cf VII, 1364 'He, descended from the illustrious Jindurāja and other ancestors who had not desired to die on a couch, displayed noble conduct') by accepting the dangerous post of Commander-in-Chief which none else of the frightened ministers would accept in the king's last desperate fight with the brothers Uccala and Sussala Winning the first fight and killing the enemy's general, he afterwards found himself deserted by his troops and maintaining the unequal combat for long, was killed in battle (VII, 1499 ff) With his death, as Kalhana justly observes, vanished Harsa's last hopes. An equally attractive personality is Ānanda who, raised to the position of Governor by Harsa, first distinguished himself, in a successful fight with Uccala and afterwards, being deserted by his troops, was captured and put to death He was, as Kalhana aptly says (VII, 1376), 'the only one to purchase glory at the expense of his body among king Harṣa's servants who were characterised by treachery and timidity His mother, one of those virtuous women who have borne sons worthy of praise for devotion to their lord's service', found relief for grief for her only son in mounting the funeral pyre (VII, 1580). A touching story told by the chronicler (VII, 1381 ff.) illustrates at once the mother's strong affection for her son and proud acquiescence in his devo-

tion to the State service—both befitting a Roman matron of the early Republican Period—and the king's high appreciation of the son's loyalty Other attractive figures of the same period are the high minister Canpaka, father of Kalhaṇa, who could be persuaded only with great difficulty by the deluded king to leave him (VII, 1587) and the faithful attendant Prayāga who stayed with the king till the end and was killed by his side (VII, 1622 ff.). Among the king's evil ministers was 'the wretch' Lostadhara who put into the king's head the idea of confiscating temple treasures (VII, 1080 ff), the vile Madana who accepted the post of Chamberlain to the Cālukya Queen in effigy (VII, 1125), and the villainous Sunna, prefect of police, who completed a long career of treachery by bringing Uccala to the capital and deserting the king in his last days (VII, 1597-99). [It will be seen from the above that the history of Kashmir in the tenth and eleventh centuries is by no means wanting in noble and heroic characters as well as commanding talents It is therefore difficult to agree with the following verdict (Ram Chandra Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir* London 1933, p 24) which seems to be more rhetorical than true to fact 'The state of Kashmir in the tenth and eleventh centuries forms a close parallel with that of Italy under Pope Alexander VI and Caesar Borgias But the Italian Popes and their satellites often differed from the Kashmir kings in that their evil lives were at any rate relieved by the display of commanding talents' Further it appears to us that the detailed analysis of Harsa's character given above does not justify the title of 'the Nero of Kashmir history' given to him by Stein I, Introduction p. 32]

From Kalhana's account of the reign of the next king Uccala, he appears before us as a shrewd, wise and energetic Prince devoted to the welfare of his subjects Faced at the beginning of his reign with formidable difficulties which Kalhana vividly describes (cf VIII, 7 'Robbers as ministers and feudatories, a brother ready to become a pretender, a land without treasure, what difficulties did not beset the king!'), he met them with ability and success He conciliated his headstrong brother Sussala by crowning him as the king of the family possession of Lohara, while he brought the unruly Ḍāmaras under control by a mixture of force and diplomacy Kalhana quotes him (VIII, 45-47) as taking for his motto two lessons, namely, accessibility to his people from morning to evening in his palace and constant preparedness for suppressing revolts. It was no doubt

in accordance with the second principle that he showed wonderful energy in repulsing the invasion of Sussala and getting rid of a number of pretenders When the most formidable of his rivals Bhiksācara, son of Bhoja and grandson of Harṣa, fled from his court to the protection of the distant king of Malava, Uccala prudently concluded treaties with Princes on the route to prevent the pretender's entry into Kashmir (VIII, 231). Uccala's beneficent measures for the welfare of his subjects, carried out no doubt in accordance with his first principle, are stated by the chronicler (VIII, 64) to follow from his one great virtue, viz. indifference to wealth A list of restorations of old temples and images as well as the renovation of the royal throne of Jayāpīḍa (VIII, 77 ff) attested to the piety and nobility of the king's character. In this connection Kalhana quotes a celebrated judgment of the king in a difficult law-suit to illustrate his uncanny wisdom which he 'must have obtained from the body of Śesanāga' (VIII 122) In an earlier passage (VIII, 85 ff) Kalhana describes with great relish the king's 'another merit which stood foremost among all his virtues', namely, his humiliation of the hated class of Kāyasthas, those 'plagues of the people' While allowing so much praise to the king, Kalhana mentions (VIII, 163 ff) to his discredit, his jealousy of greatness, his rashness of speech, his love of sanguinary combats among his followers and lastly, his arrogant and fickle temper In describing the king's last days the chronicler dwells on his fatal delusion (cf VIII, 297 'The king as if he were anxious to gain Yama's land did not exile those who had been insulted, who were full of aspirations, who had formed a league and lost their subsistence') in trusting himself in the company of some base conspirators who surprised him in his palace and killed him after a resistance worthy of his character

Of other characters of the reign we may first mention Queen Jayamatī of unknown origin and very questionable antecedents (VII, 1460-62) who secured through the king's favour 'the rare privilege of occupying one-half of his throne As queen she distinguished herself by 'kindness, charm of manners, liberality, regard for virtuous people and wisdom and helpfulness for the needy and the distressed' (VIII, 83) She made noble use of her riches by founding a *Vihāra* with a *Maṭha* which she called after the king's name Superseded in her husband's favour by a younger rival, she yet burnt herself on a funeral pyre after the king's tragic death (VIII, 363)

Kalhana draws a lively picture (VIII, 256 ff.) of the gang of conspirators who took part in Uccala's murder They consisted of the brothers Chuḍḍa,

Raḍḍa and so forth descended from a common soldier, but filled with the ambition of seizing the throne and stung to fury by the king's insulting words and dismissal of themselves from their offices, the villainous Kāyastha Saḍḍa who put the idea of treason into the heads of the brothers and was driven to desperation by being discharged from office for misconduct, the noble Bhogasena the king's 'best friend', who being insulted by the king and taken into confidence by the conspirators attempted, though in vain, to convey him a friendly warning and remained a passive spectator at the time of the murder. Kalhana takes special delight in narrating how the usurper Radda with his accomplices met a well-deserved death at the hands of the avenging Dāmara Gargacandra (VIII, 342 ff.)

Salhana the half-brother and successor of Uccala, who was next raised to the throne by 'the king-maker' the powerful Ḍāmara Gargacandra is described by Kalhana as a thoroughly worthless king (cf VIII, 417 'Neither political wisdom nor valour, neither cunning nor straightforwardness, neither liberality nor greed—nothing was prominent in this king's character') He showed his utter want of judgment in entrusting the important office of Lord of the Gate to a relative 'fitted for assemblies of ascetics', who 'declared that he would ward off the dangers from Sussala by muttering his own magic spell a hundred thousand times at his approach' (VIII, 422-423). The king being a 'mere shadow', the court was dependent on Garga for life and death Salhana's short inglorious reign, which resembled 'a long evil dream', was closed by deposition at the hands of his half-brother Sussala (VIII, 449)

Kalhana introduces his account of the next reign by drawing (VIII, 482 ff) a striking comparison and contrast between the character of the two brothers Uccala and Sussala Sussala's character, he says, was the same as that of his elder brother with some features more, and some less, strongly marked in himself. The contrast, which extends to minute shades of differences (cf VIII, 488 'Though their wrath was alike in appearance, yet that of his elder brother resembled the poison of a mad dog and his own that of a bee'') is summed up by the author in the statement (VIII, 499) that Sussala 'surpassed his elder brother in all qualities excepting only liberality, disregard of wealth and easy accessibility' Kalhana's detailed account of the reign which falls into two equal periods divided by the short interval of Bhikṣācara's usurpation, bears out his somewhat partial verdict only in part. In the beginning of his reign Sussala is described as

pacifying the country by a mixture of force and guile, which Kalhaṇa seems to condone, applied against Gargacandra and other powerful subjects. In a short time, however, he employed wicked Kāyasthas to acquire 'sordid gains' which went to swell his hoard of treasure at the Lohara castle (VIII, 560 ff.) The king proceeded to invite fresh troubles for himself by recklessly provoking the hostilities of Dāmaras and officers (cf. VIII, 650 'The action of the king in recklessly rousing these hostilities brought ruin to his subjects and was like the letting loose of a ferocious Vetāla'), while his ingratitude drove even his brave and faithful Commander-in-Chief into disaffection (VIII, 654 ff.) Defeated by the rebellious Dāmaras, the king foolishly perpetrated fresh cruelties which are justly censured by the chronicler (cf. VIII, 681) When at length the Dāmaras rose in revolt under the pretender Bhikṣācara and defeated the royal forces, Sussala prudently sent his family to the Lohara castle a step which, as Kalhaṇa notes (VIII, 721) made possible the revival of his fortunes At the beginning of the rebels' siege of the capital, the king showed such wonderful heroism as to rouse the admiration of the chronicler (cf. VIII 755 —'Though the king had before invaded the territories of various chiefs, yet the highest reward of his arm's might was the protection of the city'). But the machinations of some 'villainous Brahmans' and Purohitas of sacred places together with the desertion and mutiny of his troops and the indifference of his subjects at length deprived him of all his resolution (cf. VIII, 806) and he sought safety in flight to Lohara

In 'the wonderful battle' near Parnotsa on the Kashmir frontier, which was the talk of eye-witnesses in Kalhaṇa's time, Sussala with his few troops gained a glorious victory over the combined Kashmirian, Khaśa and Turuṣka forces of the pretender and thus 'washed off his burning disgrace for the first time' (VIII, 917) After his restoration Sussala in his distrust of his countrymen gave his chief confidence to foreigners, thus driving, according to the chronicler, numbers of his adherents into the enemy's camp That this censure is a little unmerited is proved by the king's reinstating a brave officer called Yaśorāja (VIII, 1117) whom he had unjustly driven into exile, only to experience his treacherous desertion to the enemys' side. In the following years the king, helped almost alone by his faithful foreigners, displayed such heroism in repulsing his numerous enemies as to extort high praise of the author (cf. VIII, 1199-1200) On one of the critical occasions the king was so much afflicted with sorrow (cf. VIII, 1187)

for the many calamities of his people including a great fire and famine at Śrīnagar that he brought out his son from Lohara and crowned him king, a step which he quickly retracted A touching anecdote told by the chrocler during this crisis (VIII, 1188 ff) illustrates at once the king's sublime patriotism and a foreign officer's supreme devotion to his master. Accosted by Kamaliya, son of Lavarāja a chief in the Ṭakka land (Central Punjab), the king told him that he would 'do to day what king Bhijja, that proud grandfather of yours did for his country's sake in the battle with Hammīra' (the last term probably stands for one of Sultan Mahmud's successors) Concluding his short and spirited address with words of burning patriotism, the king declared, 'Is there any person holding a place among self-respecting men who would abandon his country at the end without having wetted it with the blood of his body just as the tiger does not leave his skin without having wetted it with his blood?' When the king turned towards the fight, the noble Kamaliya stopped him by saying, 'while there are servants, it is not fit for kings to proceed in front' In the last crisis of his life Sussala committed the fatal mistake which the chronicler finds inexplicable in a man of such extraordinary vigilance (VIII, 1276-78) of giving his full confidence to a low-born traitor who ended by killing him in the palace when he was completely off his guard The king's body, shamefully abandoned by his troops and his relatives, was mutilated and carried off by the traitors.

We have a pleasing picture of Sussala's 'beloved consort' Meghamañjarī daughter of king Vijayapāla and daughter's daughter of the Lord of Kāliñjara who had brought her up with tender care in place of a son (VIII, 204-205) 'In her were combined love with tenderness, cheerful speech with dignity and cleverness with experience' (VIII, 1219) She had started to join her husband when he was plunged in a series of misfortunes, but she died on the way worn out by the disastrous news from the king Four faithful female attendants and a humble cook of her household followed the well-beloved queen to death

Kalhana introduces his general character-sketch (VIII, 1549 ff.) of the contemporary king Jayasimha by justly remarking that the traits of complex characters can only be understood by references to the preceding and following facts and also to the detailed narrative of events He also notices the opportunity which the study of a contemporary reign affords for impartial judgment In the immediately following lines he seems to point

out amid some conventional praise that the king's character was a blend of virtues and faults and that it was unfair to forget that the latter were outweighed by the former (cf. VIII, 1554-1555: "How should then the mind of everybody find its way to a right conclusion as regards the nature of his virtues and faults which is so wonderful? Uneven indeed are the features in his character. Not perceiving the excellence of their aggregate result, the people have concluded that there were faults') Kalhana's lengthy narrative of the reign helps us to fill in the details of the picture sketched so broadly and imperfectly above. At the time of his father's death he found himself destitute of troops, surrounded by half-hearted ministers, with his father's murderers still at large, and with the pretender Bhikṣācara preparing to march on the capital From this danger he extricated himself by a combination of politic generosity (cf VIII, 1377-80 mentioning how his unprecedented course of offering general amnesty at once brought him a following), resolute action and cunning diplomacy, so that in four months' time he punished his father's murderers, drove out the pretender and brought the whole kingdom under his rule (cf. VIII, 1544). Yet as Kalhana very properly remarks (VIII 1545 ff), the citizens were without means, the land was overrun by numerous Dāmaras 'who were like kings' the pretender was firmly established at a short distance, the counsellors and feudatories were seditious and the royal servants were solely bent on perfidy At this juncture the king, under the influence of evil counsellors which Kalhana strongly condemns (VIII, 1615-16) drove his brave and faithful general Sujji by a series of insults into exile When, however, Bhikṣācara arrived at a Khaśa frontier fort for a fresh invasion of Kashmir, the king and his minister Lakṣmaka used thier diplomatic weapons with such effect that the pretender was deserted by his Dāmara allies and was at last treacherously murdered by the Khaśas No sooner was the king delivered from his most dangerous adversary than he was faced with a new and formidable rebellion, that of his uncle Lothana, who had been kept a prisoner, at the Lohara castle, but was now set free and crowned king by the mutinous garrison. The king's extraordinary fortitude on hearing of this great disaster is justly praised by the chronicler (VIII, 1798-1810) But he displayed a singular want of judgment (cf. VIII, 1838-39) in choosing a wrong season for sending the relief expedition with the result that the royal forces were driven in retreat from Lohara and the minister Lakṣmaka was surprised and captured

by the rebels Wisely recalling Sujji from exile and taking advantage of the rebels' internal dissensions, the king was able with Sujji's help to recover Lohara after it had been abandoned by the cowardly pretender Mallārjuna. In a short time the king showed his weakness for evil counsels and his stupidity (cf VIII, 2032-33) by turning against the faithful Sujji whom he caused to be assassinated by base treachery—an act for which he is severely, though indirectly condemned (VIII, 2381) by the chronicler When the pretender Mallārjuna, aided by the powerful Dāmara Kosthésvara again rose in revolt, the king by his resolute action was able to capture both of them and throw them into prison At this point Kalhana describes a series of beneficent measures of the king (including the construction and restoration of temples, the encouragement of scholars and the rebuilding of the capital), in terms of somewhat extravagant praise (cf VIII, 2376 'The king whose mind is all-pervading and steadfast has obtained the foremost rank among the virtuous by his pious actions *Ibid* 2400 What had not been accomplished in regard to consecration of shrines etc and other pious works during the time of the illustrious Lalitāditya, Avantivarman and other great monarchs, that has now been achieved') Summing up the king's achievements, Kalhana says (VIII, 2446) He restored to this land which owing to the baseness of the times was like a decayed forest, wealth, population and habitations' On the other hand, as the chronicler is careful to tell us (VIII, 2480), the want of judgment which the king had shown in driving Sujji into exile was further manifested by his decision, at the advice of a mere boon companion whom he had unwisely raised to the office of prime minister, to send an incompetent commander against the Daradas The only result of this ill-advised expedition was that the powerful Darada minister fomented a revolt of the pretender Lothana which led to a general rising against the king The pretenders Lothana and Vigraharāja having taken refuge at the inaccessible castle of Śirahśilā already mentioned, the generals sent against them lost heart and pressed for a peace But the king's splendid resolution (cf his spirited instructions VIII, 2543 ff. to his general ending with the brave words, 'Therefore cease to remain mere onlookers and lay siege to the whole castle Let our life-time pass, as well as theirs, in this enterprise'.) in continuing the attack was rewarded with the surrender of the two pretenders by the Dāmara leader The king showed his generosity by his kind, if contemptuous, treatment of the prisoners

When the third pretender Bhoja after repeatedly experiencing the defeat of his Ḍāmara and other allies as well as their baseness and treachery made a voluntary surrender, he was treated by the king with the generosity befitting his own rank and high character The submission of Bhoja was followed by a general pacification of the kingdom, which gives Kalhana an opportunity to mention (VIII, 3316) another list of pious acts of the king The king's tender regard for his faithful servants is touchingly illustrated by his attending the minister Dhanya on his death-bed (cf VIII, 3329 'The grateful king did not leave the sick Dhanya's side when his end approached, but remained even without taking sleep with those who were praying for his well-being') In the same connection Kalhana mentions (VIII, 3322) how the king appointed Sañjapāla's brave son to his father's office of Commander-in-Chief after his death

Among the members of Jayasimha's family Kalhana mentions with high praise (VIII, 2433 ff, 3382 ff.) Queens Ratnādevī and Raddādevī for their pious foundations Of the latter he says (VIII, 3388) with evident exaggeration 'By her numerous sacred foundations and restorations this wise and clever queen has outstepped O wonder, even the lame Diddī' The Chief Queen Kalhanikā who is praised (VIII 3063 ff) for her magnanimity and other good qualities distinguished herself by mediating between Prince Bhoja and the king at the time of the former's surrender

Among the pretenders for the throne who lived during this period the first place belongs to Bhikṣācara grandson of king Harsa His repeated efforts to gain the throne kept the kingdom in a state of turmoil during the reign of Sussala and the early part of Jayasimha's reign When he temporarily obtained the throne after Sussala's flight from the capital he proved himself utterly unfit for his high position A tool in the hands of the powerful Dāmaras and ministers he neglected state affairs and devoted himself to low pleasures 'fit only for a market-slave' (VIII 870) Driven from his throne by a popular reaction in Sussala's favour Bhikṣācara showed such unexpected vigour in his subsequent fights with the new king as to earn the chronicler's enthusiastic praise (cf VIII, 1014 'In the two armies which counted many strong men, there was not one who could face Bhiksu when he roamed about in battle, *Ibid*, 1017 'There was no other hero anywhere like Bhikṣācara who could protect the troops in critical positions, bear up with fatigues, never feel tired and never boast'). So strongly is Kalhana impressed with this sudden improvement in the pre-

tender's character that he explains the want of opportunity for learning state-craft as the cause of Bhiksācara's failure as king (cf VIII, 1030. 'He, however, had seen nothing of his father and grandfather. Thus it came about that when he before had obtained the throne, he was misguided') After Sussala's assassination the pretender showed his implacable hatred by sending the murdered king's head to Rājapurī, for which reason he is justly censured by the chronicler (VIII, 1463) How nobly Bhiksācara redeemed the misfortunes due to adverse destiny by his last heroic fight against his treacherous assailants will be told in another place

Of the other pretenders to the throne Lothana who obtained the stronghold of Lohara by an unexpected turn of good fortune, failed to show much worth Mallarjuna who supplanted Lothana is described by the chronicler (VIII, 1979) as possessing not a single good quality While in possession of Lohara he wasted the accumulated treasures on low favourites Afterwards he showed his meanness of spirit by agreeing to pay tribute to the king and then by abandoning Lohara without a fight Captured at length by the royal forces he made himself thoroughly contemptible by his cowardice We are told for instance how before surrendering to the Lord of the Gate he made the latter give him to every body's disgust a solemn assurance for his personal safety, how on his way to the capital he behaved just like an animal' without any reflection of any kind occupying his mind and how at last he abjectly presented himself to the king and betrayed his former friends (VIII, 2296, 2299, 2311) In sharp contrast with Mallārjuna's character is that of the pretender Bhoja, son of king Salhana, who is described as a brave wise and high-minded prince After his voluntary surrender to the king, Bhoja repaid his benefactor's generosity with such devoted service as to win the latter's complete confidence (VIII, 3254 ff)

Among the ministers of Jayasimha Laksmaka occupies the first place for shrewd and successful diplomacy Holding the office of Chamberlain under Bhiksacara, he narrowly escaped imprisonment to join Sussala (VIII, 911) After Sussala's tragic death he immediately joined Jayasimha who made him his chief counsellor because of his skill in winning over the people (VIII, 1382) He occupied the dominant position in the king's Council Chamber because of his address in sowing dissensions among the Ḍāmaras (VIII, 1483-85) While selfishly driving his rival Sujji into exile by poisoning the king's ears against him, Laksmaka by his clever diplomacy prevented

Sujji's projected alliance with Somapāla the chief of Rājapurī (VIII, 1647). Lakṣmaka's last service was to win back for his master the brave Sujji from exile (VIII, 1982 ff.).

Of the other ministers the Dāmaras Pañcacandra and Sasthacandra (sons of the king-maker Gargacandra), Rilhana, Dhanya, the two Udayas and Sañjapāla are mentioned again and again for acts of conspicuous courage in the king's service The two Dāmaras fully justified the traditional loyalty of their family to the royal house (cf VIII, 2780 'Not one has been born in Sūryavarmacandra's lineage who has not done good service to those born of Malla's race') Of Rilhana we are told that finding himself deserted by his troops in a fight with a rebel Dāmara leader, he scorned to join in the general flight but boldly flung himself almost alone upon the enemy whom he forced to retire to the forest The magnificent speech put into the mouth of the general on this occasion does honour to his loyalty and courage (cf VIII, 2819 "Shame on the life of him who though a servant fails in his tasks', *Ibid* 2823 "Those who give up their lives in battle feel dejection only in the beginning, but subsequently enjoy the highest satisfaction of obtaining that happiness which is called absolute bliss") Another attractive aspect of the minister's character is presented in the chronicler's enthusiastic description of his pious gifts (VIII 3364 ff) Dhanya who had been a faithful adherent of Sussala joined Jayasimha at the beginning of his reign and was gradually raised to the high position of Chief Justice Driven into exile by Sujji's influence, he was recalled by his master after that unfortunate general's death He continued to serve the king in successive fights with pretenders and rebels till his death Praising his exceptional worth Kalhana says (VIII 3326) that he had 'singly borne the weight of the king's affairs during the troubles from Bhikṣu's death to Bhoja's defeat' Sañjapāla who had taken a leading part in besieging Salhana at the capital and placing Sussala on the throne showed conspicuous courage in fighting the rebel king-maker Gargacandra (VIII, 511) Even after his ungrateful master had sent him into exile Sañjapala showed his 'high honesty' in going abroad instead of joining the rebels (VIII, 558) Recalled by Jayasimha Sañjapāla showed his loyalty as well as his high sense of honour by betraying Sujji's intentions to the king while refusing to kill the latter by treachery (VIII, 2086 ff) In the course of these operations he is said to have addressed the king with the noble words "I do not pay attention to family relations if affairs of State are in their

way. My attachment is to my Lord, in whose service I count my life as grass." After Sujji's murder Sañjapāla bravely fought against his partisans, losing his right arm in the battle (VIII, 2164-2166). Raised to the rank of Commander-in-Chief by his grateful master, he rendered him excellent service by capturing the Dāmara rebel Kostheśvara and by rescuing the general Rilhana from a dangerous position (VIII, 2270, 2839). Rashly attacking another Dāmara rebel Trillaka inspite of the desertion of his troops, he displayed conspicuous courage along with his two sons but was completely routed (VIII, 3280). In remembrance of his high services, the king appointed his brave son to his office after his death (VIII, 3322).

(To be continued)

U N GHOSHAL

The Philology of the Pali Language

1. An attempt has been made in this paper to discuss in brief the philology of Pali with special reference to Sanskrit and Prakrit.

The vocabulary of Pali is the same as in Sanskrit[1]. First of all the phonetic peculiarities that distinguish Pali from Sanskrit are briefly indicated as follows[2]:

2. There are some letters of the Sanskrit alphabet that are not found in Pali. Among the vowels *ṛ*, *ṝ*, *ḷ*, *ai* and *au* are missing in Pali.

3. *Ṛ*, *ṝ* change into *a*, *i*, *u*: *gṛhapati* = *gahapati*, *amṛta*=*amata*, *mṛga*=*miga* (rarely *maga*), *ṛṣi*=*isi*, *kṛtya*=*kicca* (but *kacca* in *kukkucca*), *ṛtu*=*utu*, *nirvṛta*=*nibbuta* (through *nivvuta*): *Vaiśālī*=*Vesālī*, *Vaiśya*=*Vessa*, *taila*=*tela*, *Gautama*=*Gotama*, *auṣadha* =*osadha*.

4. The above changes are regular, but some variations are met with: *gṛhapati*=*gahapati* but *gṛhī*=*gihī*, (*geha*, however, should not be derived from *gṛha*), *sakṛd*=*sakad* (*sakadāgāmī*) or *sakid* (*sakideva*), the bases *mātṛ*=*mātu*, *pitṛ*=*pitu* but the *ṛ* becomes *i* in *mātito*, *mātika*, *pitito*. In a compound, variation is also met with: *ṛṇa*=*iṇa* but *an*-*ṛṇa*=*anaṇa*, *ṛṣabha*=*usabha* but *ratha*-*ṛshabha*=*ratheshbha*. Ḷ, ḷ in a word is changed into *ru*: *vṛksha*-*rukkha*, *pārita*

1. There is sometimes difference in meaning of the same word in Pali and Skt. *prajāvatī* is in Skt. brother's wife, the corresponding Pali *pajāpatī* is one's own wife; √*kāṅkṣ* means 'to desire', but Pali √*kaṅkh* is 'to doubt' (although *ā*√*kaṅkh* = to desire); *pariṣkāra* is 'adornment', 'cleansing', but *parikkhāra* means the requisites of a monk; similarly *paccaya* meaning much the same as *parikkhāra* is not used in that sense in Skt. *pratyaya*. A word at times is more used in one sense in Skt. and in another sense in Pali: *pratipad* generally means 'the first day of the lunar fortnight' but the corresponding *paṭipadā* in Pali means 'path'; *pradhāna* means 'chief', *padhāna* also means 'exertion'; *sūtra* never means a 'discourse' in Skt. but *sutta* generally is a 'discourse' in Pali (and sometimes a 'short rule' as in Skt.); *piṇḍa* is a 'lump of food' in Skt. but it is mostly used in Pali in the sense of alms given to a monk (*piṇḍapāta*); *anubhava* is 'perception' but Pali *anubhāva* means 'power'; '*bāla*' generally means a 'boy' in Skt. and it means a 'fool' in Pali, although a 'boy' may be a 'fool' and a 'fool' may be a 'boy'! (See Childers's Dictionary, Introduction).

2. E. Muller in the introduction to his *Pali Grammar*, Pandit Vidhusekhara Sastri in the introduction to his *Pāli Prakāśa* (in Bengali) and W. Geiger in the Introduction to his *Pali Literatur und Sprache* have dealt with the phonetic changes from Sanskrit into Pali. Muller's attempt was the first of its kind, and was made years ago, and so one can, if so inclined, find fault with him here and there. I have added much new material.

=pāruta, apāvrta=apāruta. *R* rarely becomes *ra*: *bṛhat=brahā*; but *Bṛhatphala=Behapphala*

5. Roots with *ṛ*: *ā*+√*hṛ*+*ta=āhṛta*, Pali *āhata*, √*smṛ*+*ta*, √*smṛ*+*ti=smṛta, smṛti*, Pali *sata, sati*, *pra*+√*vṛt*+*ta=pravṛtta*=Pali *pavatta*, √*kṛ*+*ta=kṛta*, Pali *kata*, √*mṛ*+*ta=mṛta*, Pali *mata*; *saṁ*+√*vṛ*+*ta=saṁvṛta*, Pali *saṁvuta*, √*bhṛ*+*tya=bhṛtya*, Pali *bhacca*—in these the vowel *ṛ* does not undergo guṇa change. Although in Pali the vowels *ṛ* and *ḷ* are found missing the following words can only be explained by the *guṇa* of *ṛ* or *ḷ*: *ā*+√*hṛ*+*a=āhara(ti)*, √*smṛ*+*a=smara(ti)*, Pali sarati *pra*—√*vṛt*+*a=pravarta(te)*, Pali *pavatta(ti)*, √*kṛ*+*man=karman*, Pali *kamma*, √*mṛ*+*ana=maraṇa*, *saṁ*+√*vṛ*+*a=saṁvara*, √*bhṛ*+*ti=bharti*,—Pali *bhattu*, nominative sing. *bhattā*, √*jṝ*+*a=jarā*, √*kḷp*, *kalp*+*a*=Pali *kappa(ti)*, (√*ṛ*+*ta*, however, makes *atta* by *vṛddhi* strengthening, *ṛju=uju*, *mṛdu=mudu* but *ajjava* and *maddava*—abstract nouns are derived from the *vṛddhi* strengthened forms of *ṛ*), *spṛś*+*a*+*ti=spṛśati*, Pali *phusati* but √*spṛś*+*a=sparśa*=Pali *phassa*, √*kṛṣ*+*a=kṛṣati*, Pali *kasati* but √*kṛṣ*+*ya=karshyate*, Pali *kassate*, (see 76). It may be seen, therefore, that it is not always possible to say that the *ṛ* of the root shall be changed into *a*, *i* or *u*

6 A vowel in Pali may be changed into another vowel, and no general rules can be laid down for such a change

A=ā *pravacana=pāvacana*; (is *ā* due to the loss of *r*?[2]), *vaṇij=vāṇija*, *anubhava=ānubhava*, *adhvan=addhāna* (*ā* may be due to the other form *addhā*), *paccāmitta* is equated with *pratyamitra* but the original form is *pratyag*+*mitra*—the lengthening is due to loss of *g*.

A=i *madhyama=majjhima* *tamisra=timissā*, *candramas=candimā*, *mṛdanga=mutinga*, *ā* √*śaṁs=āsiṁs*, *nyagrodha=nigrodha*, *sarisṛpa=siriṁsapa*

A=u *kadācana=kudācana* (but the vowel in *kadā* is not changed), *svapna=supina*, *sadyas=sajju*, *kṛtyaḥ=khattum*, *tvarita=turita*, *brahmaṇaḥ=brahmuno*, *addhan=addhuno* (genitive sing), *asūya=usuyyā*, *śmaśāna=susāna*, *nimajjati=nimujjati*, *sammati=sammuti*, *navati=naruti*, *bhāsasva=bhāsassu*

A=ū *vijña=viññū*, *pāraga=pāragū* (also *pāraga*), *sarvajña=sabbaññū*, *vedaka=vedagū*, *bhrūṇahan=bhūnahū*, (also bhūnaha).[1]

A=e: *śayyā=seyyā*, *atra=ettha* (also *atra*), *śvas=sve*, *puraskāra=purekkhāra*, *phalgu=pheggu*.

A=o *śvabhra=sobbha*

Ā=a: *sthāpayati=thapeti*

3 A ū only in kvi suffix

Ā = *i* : *śālmalī* = *simbalī*.

Ā = *ī* : *styāna* = *thīna*

Ā = *e* : *jyāyas* = *jeyya*

I = *a* *Kauṇḍinya* = *Kondañña*, *pṛthivī* = *pathavī*, (also *patharī*, *puthavī*, *puthuvī*), *karhi* = *karaha* (-*ci*)

I = *u* : *śiśu* = *susu*, *isu* = *usu*, *ikṣu* = *ucchu*, *dvitīya* = *dutiya*, *dvi* = *du*(*vidha*), *Aniruddha* = *Anuruddha* through confusion with the prefix *anu*-.

I = *e* *mahishī* = *mahesī* (to distinguish the queen-consort from the she-buffalo), *saṁ* + √*i* + *tya* = *samecca* (by strengthening √*i*).

I = *o* · *Ikṣvāku* = *Okkāka*

Ī = *a* · *kausīdya* = *kosajja*

Ī = *i* · *dvitīya* = *dutiya*,-*anīya* = *aniya*, (also *anīya* *khādaniya* or *khādanīya*).

Ī = *e* *samīkṣate* = *samekkhati*

U = *a* · *guru* = *garu*, *Ikshvāku* = *Okkāka*

U = *i* . *Sumeru* = *Sineru*, *purusha* = *purisa*, *jugupsā* = *jigaccha*

U = *o* *pustaka* = *potthaka*, *anupama* = *anopama*, *śuṇḍā* = *soṇḍa*, *ustra* = *ottha*, *puṣkara* = *pokkhara*, *gulpha* = *gopphā*, *vāyu* = *vāyo* (to equate with *āpo* and *tejo*)

Ū = *i* *bhūyas* = *bhiyyo*, (also *bhuyya* in compound *yebhuyyena*)

Ū = *u* . *yavāgu* = *yāgu*.

E = *o* : *deśa* = *dosa*, (to avoid *desa*, country)

O = *u* *jyotsnā* = *junhā* [1]

7 Among the consonants, *ś* and *ṣ* are not found in Pali. They are always replaced by the dental sibilant *Vaiśāli* *Vesāli*, *Kāśī* = *Kāsī*, *aushadha* = *osadha*, √*śas* = √*sas*

The letter *ḥ* also is not met with in Pali. (see 86) *Aḥ* becomes *o* *putraḥ* = *putto*, *manaḥ* = *mano*, *śreyaḥ* = *seyyo* (neu). *prātaḥ* - *pāto*, *anekaśaḥ* = *anekaso*, *ātmanaḥ* = *attano*, *tataḥ* = *tato*, *antaḥ* = *anto*, *puraḥ* = *puro* (-*hita*) but (*puraḥ* = *pura* in *purato*), *saḥ* = *so* and *sa*. *Āḥ* drops the *ḥ*, as in *putrāḥ* = *puttā* and *pacāmaḥ* = *pacāma*. *Ḥ* preceded by any other vowel is dropped *kapibhiḥ* = *kapibhi*, *āriḥ*

[1] Melody of sound determines the changes of letters, but no general rules can be deduced. It seems, for instances that when the original loses a consonant, the loss is made good by changing *a* into *ā* or into *ū* *putyaq* + *mitra* - *paccāmitta*, *samyak* *sammā* *bhūnahan* *bhūnahū* *i* changes into the other vowel of the word *isi* = *isi*, *itu* = *utu*, and that a vowel before a double consonant is liable to be changed. e g , *puṣkara* *pokkhara*, *pustaka* = *potthaka* *puratāra* *purekkhāra* *saṁjñā* *saññā*, *atra* *ettha* *phalgu* = *phaggu*, *samīkṣate* = Samekkhati There are, of course, many exceptions to these suggestions Here only Skt and Pali equations have been given without any attempt being made to go deeper.

=avi, bhoḥ=bho; paceyuḥ=paceyyu(ṃ). Medial *ḥ* is assimilated: *duḥkha=dukkha.*

There are two sounds in Pali, the consonants *ḷ* and *ḷh* which are not found in classical Sanskrit. (See 8. *ḍ, ḍh*).

8. Consonantal changes too are frequent, and their range is wider than that in vowel changes:—

K=g *Sākala=Sāgala, mūka=mūga, vedaka=vedagū, kula+upaka=kulūpaga,* also *kulūpaka*)

K=p. kakudha=pakudha.

K=v *śuka=suva*

G=k *bhṛṅgāra=bhiṅkāra,* √*sthag=thak* (*eti*).

Gh=g: jighatsā=jigacchā (as well as *jighacchā*)

C=t: cikitsā=tikicchā (but *vicikitsā=vicikicchā*)

J=c *prājana=pācana*

J=d. Prasenajit=Pasenadi, jyotsnā=dosinā, (also *junhā*), *jājvalya=daddalla, jighacchā* as well as *digacchā*

Ṭ=ḍ *nighaṇṭu=nighaṇḍu*

Ṭ=ḷ *sphaṭika=phaḷika.*

Ṭ=ḷ *āṭavika=āḷavika*

Ḍ=ḷ, ḍh=ḷh *Garuḍa=Garuḷa, biḍāla=biḷāra, ṣoḍaśa=soḷasa, guḍa=guḷa, chaḍ=chaḷ* (*-abhiññā*), *eḍaka=eḷaka, niḍa=niḷa,* (also *nidda*), *dṛḍha=daḷha, gāḍha=gāḷha, mūḍha=mūḷha*

Ṇ=n *yakṣiṇī=yakkhinī, ghrāṇa=ghāna,* (see 92)

Ṇ=ḷ *veṇu=veḷu, mṛṇāla=muḷāla*

T=c *tarhi=carahi*

T=ṭ. vartate=vaṭṭati, (also *vattati*), *prati=paṭi, prathama=paṭhama,* (see 93)

T=d: uta=uda, ruta=ruda, (also *ruta*), *vitasti=vidatthi.*

Th=ṭh *artha=aṭṭha,* (also *attha*), (see 93).

Th=dh: √*vyath=vedh(ati)*

D=ḍ √*dah=*√*ḍah,* (also √dah), daṁça=ḍaṁsa

D=t *prādur=pātu, kusīda=kusīta, mṛdaṅga=mutiṅga, Yamadagni=Yamataggi.*

D=b *dvādaça=bārasa, dvāviṃçati=bāvīsati,* (only in numerals)

D=y *khādita=khāyita, svādita=sāyita,* (see 59).

D=r.-daśa=-rasa: aṣṭādaça=atthārasa (or *atthādasa*), *chārasa* or *chādasa,* (only in numerals)

D=l (through *ḍ*) *udāra=uḷāra, dohada=dohaḷa, vaiḍūrya=veḷuriya, budbuda=bubbuḷa*

5 *Ḍ, ḍh* only in the middle of a word are changed into *ḷ, ḷh* respectively: *ḍāha* but *pariḷāha*. *Ḷ* and *ḷh* are found only in the middle of word (as in Bengali)

Dh=dh . ardha=aḍḍha, vrddha=vuḍḍha; (see 93)

Dh=th : apidhīyate=pithiyati.

N=n : śakuna=sakuna, jñāna=ñāṇa, vijñāna=viññāna, śanaih=saṇikaṁ, jyotsnā=juṇhā, snusā=sunhā, sunisā, also *husā*; (see 92)

N=r : Nairañjanā=Nerañjarā

N=l · from √*nah* · *pilandhati*

N=l · *enas=ela.*

P=k . pipīlikā=kipillikā by metathesis

P=v : pūpa=pūva, apara=avara in *parovara*

B=p : alābu=alāpu

B=v : pibati=pivati, bandhyā=vañjhā

M=n : Sumeru=Sineru.

M=v : mīmāṁsā=vīmaṁsā.[6]

Y=b · *jarāyu=jalābu, pūya=pubba*

Y=bh : Sarayū=Sarabhū

Y=r : snāyu=nahāru

Y=l . yashthi=laṭṭhi, paryāya=peyyāla

Y=v dāya=dāva, mrgayā=migavā, kaṣāya=kasāva, prayac-chati=pavecchati, kiyat=kīva, traya=tāva (in *Tāvatiṁsa*), *Dīrghāyuh=Dīghāvu, āyudha=āvudha,* (also *āyudha*), *sāhāyya=sahavya(tā).*

R=n : prabhangura=pabhanguna

R=y(?) grdhra>grdhya=gijjha

R=l roma=loma, sukumāra=sukhumāla, rudra=ludda, jarāyu=jalābu, agaru=agalu, antarīksha=antalikkha, Maskarī=Makkhali, viparyāsa=vipallāsa, ārdra=alla, paryanka=pallanka, pari=pali (palibodha, paligunthita, paligha). māruta=māluta

R=ṁ vidarçayati=vidaṁseti, lomaharsha=lomahaṁsa (see 32)

L=r kila=kira, bidāla=bilāra, ālambana the same as *ārammaṇa.*

L=l -daḷidda as well as *dalidda, galati=gaḷati, pāli* as well as *pāḷi*

V=p · *prajāvatī=pajāpatī, palāva=palāpa, śāva=chāpa.*

V=b (initial only) *Vīja=bīja, byañjana* also *vyañjana, vyādhi, byādhi.*

Ś=ch : Śāva=chāpa.

Ś=d : śāka=dāka

S=ch · *sad=cha*

H=dh : iha=idha, (also *iha*).[7]

* * * * * *

6 Ātmaja—attaja

7 Changes illustrated by very few examples do not betray the general tendency of the language

9. Pali words (i) begin with a single consonant, (ii) do not end in a consonant, (iii) and a conjunct consonant of more than two letters is not allowed in the middle of a word.

10. (i) A single consonant in the beginning of a word: *prāṇa= pāṇa, tri=ti, krodha=kodha, dvīpa=dīpa, dvitīya=dutiya, dvigu= digu, smṛti=sati, śmaśāna=susāna* It must not be understood that the first consonant is always retained The rules of assimilation have to be applied before one of the consonants is dropped. (See under Assimilation) According to these rules *nyāya* becomes *ññāya** and then *ñāya, kṣetra>kkhetta*=khetta, jñāna>ññāna*=ñāna, dhyāna>jjhāna*=jhāna, smarati>ssarati*=sarati,* (also *sumarati*), *spandana>pphandana*=phandana, √spṛś>pphus*=√phus, stūpa >tthūpa*=thūpa* [8]

The exceptions to the above rule of a single consonant in the beginning are *brahmā* and *brāhmaṇa* and also words with initial *tv, vy, (by),* and *sv tvaṁ, vyādhi (byādhi), vyaggha, vyākata, vyañjana (byañjana), sve, svātana* [9] and some words with initial *dv dve, dvāra, dvanda* Even here forms like *tuvaṁ* instead of *tvaṁ, duve* instead of *dve, viyākāsi* instead of *vyākāsi, veyyākaraṇa* instead of *vyākaraṇa* are found, indicating the tendency in Pali of preferring a single consonant in the beginning.

11 (ii) The final consonant is dropped and the preceding vowel, if short, is sometimes lengthened. *nāman=nāma, karman=kamma, punar=puna, saras=sara triṁśat=tiṁsa, nūnam=nūna, yāvat= yāva,* (also *yāvatā*), *vid=vi, ṣaḍ=sa, marut=maru, cakṣus(ḥ)= cakkhu, vidyut=vijju, bhos(ḥ)=bho, bhagavān=bhagavā, putrāt= putta, paścāt=pacchā, tasmin>tasmi*=tamhi,* (cp. *tidivasmi modati*) *Arhan=arahā* (also *arahaṁ*), *samyak=sammā, adhvan=addhā* (also *addhāna*), *apsaras=accharā, pariṣad=parisā, dhik=dhī, krip=krī*

12 If the final consonant is not dropped it is either changed into a niggahīta or a vowel is added at the end. *etad=etaṁ, arhan=arahaṁ,* (also *arahā*), *pacan=pacaṁ, bhavan=bhavaṁ, aham=ahaṁ, sam-=saṁ, teṣām=tesaṁ, tasmin=tasmiṁ, punar =(punap)punaṁ,* (also *puna*), *Sanatkumāra=Sanaṁkumāra.*

Tvac=taca, adhvan=addhāna; (cp *dīghaṁ addhānaṁ*), also *addhā, medhas=medhasa, dvis=disa, bhiṣak=bhisakka, vānij= vāṇija, udañc=udicca, kṛt=kita, yāvat=yāvatā,* (also *yāva*), *prāṇabhṛt=pāṇabhūta,* (mixed up with *pāna+bhūta*), *sarad=sarada.*

8 Between an aspirate and an unaspirate the unaspirate is retained

9 Svāgata, khvāssa have a double consonant in the beginning on account of sandhi.

The following words being feminine, the feminine suffix *ā* is added : *diś*=*disā*, *vāc*=*vācā*, *pratipad*=*paṭipadā*, *āpad*=*āpadā*, *gir*=*girā*, *upānah*=*upāhanā*.

13. Consonantal bases are avoided in Pali as far as possible but they survive although there is a tendency of changing them into vowel bases : *kārin* becomes *kārī*, and the accusative singular is *kāriṁ*, but there is an additional form *kārinaṁ* from *kārin* as in Sanskrit. The instrumental singular, genitive singular and plural and locative singular of consonantal bases are formed by adding *ā*, *o*, *aṁ* and *i* respectively to the base. But here forms of the corresponding vowel declension are found along with those of the consonantal base : *mahat* in the instrumental *mahatā*, genitive singular *mahato*, locative singular *mahati* besides *mahantena*, *mahantassa* and *mahantasmiṁ* respectively as from a vowel base (*mahanta*), the present participle *pacat* forms the genitive singular and plural *pacato* and *pacataṁ* respectively as also *pacantassa* and *pacantānaṁ* (from √*pac* + *a* + *nta*), *manas* forms the locative singular *manasi* and according to the vowel base *manasmiṁ* (See 41 & 42)

14. Words ending in a consonant followed by words beginning with a consonant are to be met with in compounds *vākkaraṇa*(*vāc*), *khuppipāsā* (*khud*), *mahaddhana* (*mahat*), *saddhamma* (*sat*), *sakkāra* (*sat*), *tappurisa* (*tat*), *takkara*(*tat*), *tad-ahu*, *tad-uṭṭhāya*, *saddhā* (*sat*)

Words with a preposition ending in a consonant followed by words beginning with a consonant are also met with. *uppajjati* (*ud*) *nissaraṇa* (*nir*), *duggandha* (*dur*), *catuppada* (*catur*). In all these cases assimilation has taken place[9]

15 A final consonant apparently missing in Pali, followed by a word beginning with a vowel is revived by the so-called rule of consonantal insertion *kenaci* + *eva* = *kenacideva* (Skt.-*cid*), *tāva* + *eva*=*tāvadeva* (Skt *tāvat*), *tasmā* + *iha* = *tasmātiha* (Skt *tasmāt*), *saka-d-āgāmī*, *saki-d-eva* (Skt. *sakid*), *eta-d-ahosi* (Skt *etad*), *sabbhi-r-eva* (Skt *sadbhir*), *patu-r-ahosi* (Skt *prādur*), *pāta-r-āsa* (Skt *prātar*), *puna-r-eva* (Skt *punar*), also *punadeva* and *punameva*, *durāsada* (*dur*), *caturaṅga* (*catur*), *nirāhara* (*nir*), *chalabhiññā* (Skt. *shad*).

16 The Skt consonant, however, is not always retained as *dhik* becomes *dhir*—(*dhiratthu*), *samyak* = *sammad*—(*sammadaññā vimutta*), also *samma*, *anyageva* becomes *aññadeva* in Pali. (See 36).

9 As for the prepositions ending in a consonant, *nir*, *dur*, *ud* are generally assimilated *nir* + *mala* = *nimmala*, but *nir* + *harati* = *nīharati*, *nir* + *varana* – *nīvaraṇa* *Dur* + *gata* – *duggata* but *dur* + *rama* *dūrama* for which see 85 *Ud* + *sahati* = *ussahati* but *ud* + *han* - *ūhan*, and for the change of *sam* into *sam* see 84.

17 (iii) Whereas in Skt there are conjunct consonants of even more than three letters, Pali words do not contain, as a rule, conjunct letters of more than two consonants. There are, however, one or two exceptions to this: *indriya*, *yantra* and '*ntv*' in *hantvā*, *gantvā*. If there is a triple consonant, one of the consonants, the weakest is dropped and assimilation takes place wherever possible:[10] *indra*=*inda*, *mantra*=*manta*, *candra*=*canda*, *Lakshmana*=*Lakkhana*, *ujjvala*=*ujjala*, *mahattva*=*mahatta*, *sattva*=*satta*, *dvandva*=*dvanda*. *ūrddhva*=*uddha*. √*kar*+*tvā*=*katvā*. *çāstra*=*sattha*, *vastra*=*vattha*, *rāṣṭra*=*raṭṭha* —(s+t=ṭṭh), *matsya*=*maccha*—(t+s=cch), *Iksvāku*=*Okkāka*—(here k+s=kk). The weakest consonant is not dropped in the following examples. √*dis*+*tvā*=*disvā*, √*chid*+*tvā*=*chetvā*, *ārdra*=*alla*, (r=l). And the same in combination of a sibilant and a nasal *jyotsnā*=*junhā*—(s+n=nh) or *dosinā*, *kṛtsna*=*kasina*, *ślaksna*=*saṇha*, *pakshma*=*pamha* but in the following examples the weakest consonant is indistinguishable on account of assimilation *sūkshma*=*sukhuma*, *Vindhya*=*Vinjha* and *bandhyā*=*vañjhā*, *vartman* (√*vṛt*)=*vatuma* (See Assimilation 31 and Epenthesis 36)

18. A double consonant is not allowed after a *niggahita* or any nasal *sankhyā*=*sankhā*, *saṃskāra*=*sankhāra*, *saṃsthāna*=*saṇṭhāna*, *saṃsparsa*=*samphassa*, *saṃkṣipta*=*sankhitta*, *saṃstaraṇa*=*santharaṇa*, cp *daṃstrā*=*dāṭhā*, (see under Assimilation) A triple consonant is separated by means of epenthesis as in *harmya*=*hammiya*.

19 Double consonant in the middle of a word must belong to the same group *mangala*, *gacchi* (also *gañchi*), *lajjā*, *pañca*, *gandha*, *nimba*, *sammata*

20. Assimilation sometimes takes place between consonants of the same group[11] *prajñā*=*paññā*, *sapatnī*=*sapattī*, *ālambana*=*ārammana* 'ñc' in *pañca* is changed into ṇṇ in paṇṇarasa. Combinations like √budh+ta, √pad+na are assimilated, (see 23).

21. If the consonants belong to different groups, or one is a mute and the other not, assimilation then as a rule takes place The following exceptions may be noted *sākya* (to avoid confusion with god *Sakka*), *vākya* *ārogya*, *nigrodha*, *pindolya*, *atra*, *tatra*, *yatra* (also *ettha*, *tattha*, *yattha*), *gotrabhū* (but *gotta*), *vicitra*, (also *vicitta*), with *tvā* of the gerund; *sutrā*, *pacitrā* (but *catvāraḥ*=*cattāro*), *bhadra*, (also *bhadda*), *udraya*, *udriyati* (also *uddaya*, *uddīyati*), *kalyāna*, *kalya* (also *kalla*), *harya*, *saharyatā*, *vidrā*,

10 The mutes (*k*—*m*) are the strongest among consonants, nasals being sometimes regarded weak, then *s*, *l*, *v*, *y*, *r*, in decreasing strength

11 Ordinarily here the nasal is second in the compound letter

bhasta, utrasta, odhasta, āyasmā, bhasma, with *sma* in grammatical *asmi, tasmim, puttasmim*. Some combinations due to sandhi are to be found: *anveti* (*anu+eti*), *pātvâkasi* (*pātu+akāsi*), *yatvâdhikaraṇa* (*yato+adhikaraṇa*), *myāyaṁ*(*me+ayaṃ*). Besides, the combinations of *h* with another consonant are to be found. *brāhmaṇa, brahman, gaṇhāti, taṇhā* etc., and also combinations of *yi* *payirupāsati, kayrā*, (variants *payirupāsati* and *kayirā*) See 47

22. Assimilation is a conspicuous feature of Pali, (see 79). The combinations of consonants are avoided in Pali by means of either epenthesis or metathesis (which see). Assimilation takes place either in the body of a word or between a root or a word and suffix ending in or beginning with a consonant It must be noted that final and initial consonants are not always assimilated e g. √*pac+ta*= *pacita*, √*has+ta=hasita*, √*gah+ta=gahīta*, √*kar+ta=kata*, *nir*+ √*var+ta=nibbuta* In assimilation one of the consonants is made the same as the other This is called complete assimilation √*muc*+ *ta=mutta*, *putra=putta* When one of the consonants is made similar to the other the assimilation is incomplete √*sam+ta*= *santa*, *hasta=hattha* Sometimes a third consonant reduplicated is used for both √*labh* + *ta=laddha* When the final consonant is assimilated the assimilation is called regressive, and when the initial consonant is assimilated, it is progressive assimilation: √*muc* +*ta=mutta* and √*lag+na=lagga* respectively.

23 (1) The first general rule of assimilation When both the consonants, are mute the final consonant is assimilated √*yuj+ta* =*yutta* (Skt *yukta*), √*muc+ta* *mutta*, *ud*+√*pad+na=uppanna* (Skt, *utpanna*), *sat+dharma=saddhamma* (Skt *saddharmma*), *prajñā=paññā* (but *ājñā*>*aññā**=*āṇā*—(to avoid *aññā* which means super-knowledge), *sapta=satta*, *nimna=ninna* If one of the consonants is an aspirate the other consonant is assimilated *sat+bhi*= *sabbhi* (Skt *sadbhir*). √*budh+ta*, √*sudh+ta*, √*bandh+ta=buddha*, *suddha, baddha* respectively as in Skt [13]

There are some exceptions to this rule When combinations of *gn, jn* (*gn*),[14] *kn, pn, tm, tn*, occur the nasal is assimilated *nagna=nagga*, *agni=aggi*, √*lag+na=lagga* (Skt *lagna*), *ud*+ √*vij+na=ubbigga* (Skt. *udvigna*), √*bha(ñ)j+na=bhagga* (Skt.

12 I have borrowed the scheme of Assimilation from Woolner's "*Introduction to Prakrit*"

13 A mute aspirate is doubled by using the same unaspirate before it

14 J of the root is changed into the corresponding guttural, so that *jn=gn*

It may be noted in this connection that if the palatal is changed into a guttural, the preceding nasal, if any, is correspondingly changed √*bhañj+a* <√*bhaṅg**+*a=bhanga*, √*sañj+a*>*saṅga**=*sanga*.

bhagno), √*śak* + *no* = *sakko(ti)*, (Skt. *śaknoti*), *pra* + √*āp* + *no* = *pappo(ti)* (Skt *prāpnoti*), *ātman* = *attan*, (but *vartman* = *vaṭuma*), *sapatnī* = *sapattī* Some irregular assimilations: *bh* + *t* = *ddh*, √*labh* + *ta* = *laddha* (Skt *labdha*). √*lubh* + *ta* = *luddha* (Skt, *lubdha*) a hunter, (also spelt *ludda* through confusion with *ludda* = *rudda*, fierce), *ā* + √*rabh* + *ta* = *āraddha*, *j* + *t* = *ṭṭh* in the following: √*saj* + *ta* = *saṭṭha* (Skt √*sṛj* + *ta* = *sṛṣṭa*)—cp *vissaṭṭha*, *saṁsaṭṭha*, √*maj* + *ta* = *maṭṭha* (Skt. √*mṛj* + *ta* = *mṛṣṭa*). √*yaj* + *ta* = *yiṭṭha* (Skt *iṣṭa*). Some roots beginning with *v* change the following *a* to *u* before assimilation takes place √*vac* + *ta* = *vutta* (Skt *ukta*), √*vac* + *ya* = *vucca* (*ti*), √*vas* + *ta* = *vuttha* (also *vusita*), Skt. *uṣita*, *ni* + √*vṛ* + *ta* = *nibbuta*, but *pa* + √*vat* + *ta* = *pavatta* (Skt. *pravṛtta*)

24. (II) The second general rule of assimilation When one consonant is a mute and the other a semi-vowel (*y*, *r*, *l*, *v*) or sibilant (*ś*, *ṣ*, *s*) the mute being stronger is retained and the other consonant is assimilated *ākhyāna* = *akkhāna*, *saṅkhyā* = *saṅkhā*, *cakra* = *cakka*, *pakṣa* = *pakkha*, √*muc* + *ya* = *mucca* (*ti*), *rājya* = *rajja*, *putra* = *putta*, *śatru* = *sattu*, *catvāraḥ* = *cattāro*, *Bhāradvāja* = *Bhāraddāja*, *samanvāgata* = *samannāgata*, √*kar* + *tum* = *kattuṁ*, *punar* + *bhava* = *punabbhava*, *durgati* = *duggati*, *karma* = *kamma*, *dur* + *kṛta* = *dukkata* Exceptions with *ud*- *ud* + *loketi* = *ulloketi*, *ud* + *sahati* = *ussahati*, *ud* + *matta* = *ummatta* *Mr* becomes *mb* *āmra* = *amba*, *tāmra* = *tamba* *Lm* becomes *mb* *śālmalī* = *simbalī*, *gulma* = *gumba* *Ht* becomes *ḷh*, *ddh* √*rūh* + *ta* = *rūḷha*, √*muh* + *ta* = *mūḷha*. √*nah* + *ta* = *naddha*, √*duh* + *ta* = *duddha* *Tr* becomes *tth* in adverbs of space *tatra* = *tattha* (also *tatra*), *atra* = *ettha* (also *atra*) *sarvatra* = *sabbattha*, *anyatra* = *aññattha*, *ārdra* = *alla* (*r* = *l*), *gṛdhra* = *gijjha*, *catvara* = *caccara*, Pali √*pucch* + *ta* = *puttha*, √*muc* + *ta* = (Pali) *mukka* in *paṭimukka*, (also *mutta*).

There are three main variations to this general rule:

25 (A) A dental meeting *y* is changed into the corresponding palatal before assimilation takes place: *satya* = *sacca*, *pratyāgacchati* = *paccāgacchati*, *kṛtya* = *kicca*, *mithyā* = *micchā*, *avidyā* = *avijjā*, *Ayodhyā* = *Ayojjhā* (but in a triple consonant *dhy* usually becomes *ñjh* by dropping one of the palatals *Vindhya* = *Viñjha*, *bandhyā* = *vañjhā*, cp Skt *ānantya* = *ānañca*), *kanyā* = *kaññā*, √*man* + *ya* = *mañña* (*ti*), *nyāya* = *ñāya* (but *nyagrodha* = *nigrodha*).

Not only a dental and *y* but in fact any nasal with *y* changes into *ññ* *puṇya* = *puñña*, *kāruṇya* = *kāruñña*, *saṁ* + *yata* = *saññata*, *taṁ* + *yeva* = *taññeva* [15]

15 *Taññeva* is taken by grammarians as equivalent to tam+eva, but I do not agree to this

When, however, *ud*-precedes *y* the assimilation is *yy* instead of *jj*: *ud+yojeti=uyyojeti*, *udyama=uyyama*, *ud+yāti=uyyāti*, *udyāna=uyyāna*.

26 (B) The second variation of the rule is: When a mute meets a sibilant, the sibilant (being weak) is assimilated, but the mute is, at the same time, aspirated (unless already an aspirate).

With guttural: *bhikshu=bhikkhu*, *cakshu=cakkhu*, *akshi=akkhi*, *puraskṛta=purakkhata* (also *purekkhata*), *saṁ+kāra=saṁskāra*= Pali *saṅkhāra*; (see 18), *pari+kāra=pariskāra*=Pali *parikkhāra*; (see 91). Exceptions: *saṁskṛta=sakkata* (Sanskrit language) in order to avoid *saṅkhata* which has a different sense, *Takshaśilā=Takkasilā*, *Ikshvāku=Okkāka*, √*kshā=jhā(yati)*. *Ks* is changed into *cch* in the following words: *kukshi=kucchi*, *ikshu=ucchu*, *sa+akshi>sacchi**—(cp. *sacchikaroti*), *kshulla*, however becomes *culla* or *cūla*.

27. With palatal: *paścāt=pacchā*, *āścarya=acchariya*, *niścita=nicchita*, *nis=niś+*√*car=niccharati*—(cp *nicchāreti*) but *niścala=niccala* from *ni-cala*, *duścarita=duccarita* from *du+carita*. (see 89)

28. With lingual: √*dṛç+ta* (*drshta*)=*diṭṭha*, √*naś+ta* (*nashta*) =*naṭṭha*, *pra+*√*viś+ta* (*pravishta*)=*paviṭṭha*, *rāshtra=raṭṭha*, √*hṛsh+ta* (*hṛshta*)=*haṭṭha*, (see 94), *daṁstrā=dāṭhā*.[16]

29. With dental—*t*: *Srāvastī=Sāvatthī*, *mastaka=matthaka*, *hasta=hattha*, √*as+ti=atthi* but *hyastanī=hiyattanī*. *Ts* becomes *cch*: *vatsa=vaccha* (also *vaṁsa*—the *Vaṁsas* of *Kosambī*), *matsya=maccha*, *cikitsā=tikicchā*, *mat+sara=macchara*, *jighatsā=jigacchā* but *bībhatsa=bībhacca*. Exceptions: *t* of *-ut* is assimilated *utsanna* =*ussanna*, *utsuka=ussuka*, *utsava=ussava* but *utsanga=ucchanga*. *Sth* becomes *ṭṭh* instead of *tth* *asthi=atthi*, *sthāna=thāna*

30. With labial. *pushpa=puppha*, *nishpanna=nipphanna*, √*spṛś=phus*, √*spand* = √*phand*. Exceptions: √*spṛh*=√*pih*, *vanaspati=vanappati*. *Ps* become *cch* in *apsaras=accharā*, *jugupsa* =*jigucchā*

31 (C) The third variation of the rule is When a sibilant meets a nasal, the sibilant is changed into *h*, and the order of the consonants is reversed, (in other words the *h* aspirates the nasal): *tṛshṇā=taṇhā*, *ushṇa=uṇha*, *kṛshṇa=kaṇha*, *tushṇīm=tuṇhī*, *asmākaṁ=amhākaṁ*, *asmi=amhi* (also *asmi*), *tasmin=tamhi* (also *tasmiṁ*), *grīshma=gimha*, √*snā*=√*nhā* √*nahā*, *snāyu>nhāyu**>

16 When *ṭṭh* occurs, it must be understood that the Skt sibilant is either lingual or palatal (except when *sth* becomes *tth* as below), and when it is *tth* the Skt sibilant may be assumed to be dental, (see 94)

*nahāyu** = *nahāru*, *ślesh man* = *semha*, *pakshma* = *pamha*, *praśna* = *pañha*, (*n* palatalized by the influence of the palatal sibilant), *jyotsnā* = *junhā* (also *dosinā*), *snusā* = *sunhā* (*u shifted*, and no reversal of consonants) Exceptions: √*smr* = √*sar*, *vi* + √*smar* + *a* = *vissara*, *anu* + *smaraṇa* = *anussaraṇa*, *jāti smara* = *jātissara*, *smṛti* = *sati*; *smita* = *sita* (also *mihita*), *śmaśru* = *massu*, *śmaśāna* = *susāna*. Instead of Assimilation, Epenthesis is used in the following. *jyotsnā* = *dosinā* (also *juṇhā*), *sūkshma* = *sukhuma*

32 (III). The third general rule of assimilation: If neither consonant is a mute the weaker is assimilated, *s*, *l*, *v*, *y*, *r* being their order in decreasing strength *aśva* = *assa*, *aśru* = *assu*, *sahasra* = *sahassa*, *asya* = *assa*, *śalya* = *salla*, *palvala* = *pallala*, *avyaya* > *avvaya** = *abbaya*, √*div* + *ya* > *divva** = *dibba* *darśana* = *dassana*, *parvata* > *pavvata** = *pabbata*, *sarva* > *savva** = *sabba*, *pūrva* > *puvva** = *pubba*,[17] *ārya* = *ayya* (also *ariya*), *nir* + *yāti* = *niyyāti* but *viparyāsa* = *vipallāsa*, *paryanka* = *pallanka* —(*r* = *l*), *svayam* = *sayam*, *svāmin* = *sāmī*. Exceptions. *lomaharsa* = *lomahaṁsa*, *sampraharṣa* = *sampahaṁsa*, *vidarśayati* = *vidaṁseti*, *Uruvilvā* = *Uruvelā*.

M of *sam* followed by *l* is always assimilated *saṁ* + *lapati* = *sallapati*, *sam* + *lahuka* = *sallahuka*, *sam* + *līna* = *sallīna*, *ittham* + *nāma* = *itthannāma*. (For final *m* (*ṁ*) see 84 and for *m* followed by *y* see 25).

33 *H* with a nasal or a semi-vowel before it—the order is reversed, (see 47), but the following assimilations with *h* are found: *lehya* = *leyya*, *gahvara* = *gabbhara*, *hrasva* becomes *rassa*; (for *hrada* = *daha*, *rahada* see[18]) 47

Assimilation is the most common way of avoiding an inconvenient combination of consonants but there is another method of doing the same, that is Epenthesis.

34 Epenthesis is the insertion of a vowel between two consonants It is invariably applied in the beginning of a monosyllabic word, for assimilation would change such a word out of recognition. *çrī* = *sirī*, *hrī* = *hirī*, *jyā* = *jiyā*, √*snā* > *nhā* = *naha*, *svasti* = *suvatthi*, *padma* = *paduma*, *ratna* = *ratana*, *pari* + *upa* √*ās* + *ti* = *payirupāsati*, *gṛhapatnī* = *gahapatānī*, *rajña* = *rajina*, *svapna* = *supina*, *kriyā* = *kiriyā*, *bhagnī* = *bhaginī*, *vartman* (√*vṛt*) = *vatuma*.

17 *VV* always becomes *bb*

18 I have given examples of assimilation from the roots of verbal derivatives and not from the forms they have assumed in Skt √*muc* + *ta* = *mutta* (Skt *mukta*), *ud* + √*pad* + *na* - *uppanna* (Skt *utpanna*) It is easier, however, in some cases to go by the Skt forms √*bhañj* + *na* (Skt *bhagna*) - *bhagga*, √labh+ta (Skt *labdha*) *laddha*, √*pucch* (Pali √*pucch* + *ta*) - Skt *pṛsta* = *puttha*, √*sṛj*. Pali √*saj* + *ta* (Skt *sṛshta*) - (*vi*)*ssattha*

Epenthesis takes place in the following combinations in particular *a* is inserted between *r* & *h*: *arham*=*araham*, *garhati*=*garahati*, *etarhi*=*etarahi*, *antarhita*=*antarahita*. *I*. following a guttural or a palatal—*i* is inserted *kleśa*=*kilesa*, *klānta*=*kilanta*, *glāna*=*gilāna*, *śloka*=*siloka*, *mlā*=*milā*(*yati*) but *plavati*=*palavati*. *I* is also inserted between *r* & *y*: *āścarya*=*acchariya*, *kadarya*=*kadariya*, *brahmacarya*=*brahmacariya*, *tiryak*=*tiriya*. *Ārya*=*ariya* (also *ayya*), *bhāryā*=*bhariyā*, *ācārya*=*ācariya*, *sūrya*=*suriya*, *vīrya*=*viriya*, *vaidūrya*=*veluriya*,[19] *paryāya*=*pariyāya*, *paryeṣaṇā*=*pariyesanā*, *paryanta*=*pariyanta*[20] But *viparyāsa*=*vipallāsa*, *paryanka*=*pallanka*—(*r*=*l*), *paryupāsati*=*payirupāsati*, (see 47 for *ry*=*yr*)

Ya, *yā* at the end of a word preceded by another consonant introduces an *i* *carya*=*cariya*, *jātyā*=*jātiyā*, *sāmarthya*=*sāmatthiya*, *dharmya*=*dhammiya*, *veśyā*=*vesiyā* (also *vesī*).

Ambila (Skt *amla*) is an instance of a consonant with a vowel introduced into a word

35. *M* is inserted in *jigimsati* (Skt. *jigīṣati*), *bhimsana* (Skt *bhīṣaṇa*) and in a compound word· *sanamtana* (*sanātana*), *aramsiro* (*ara*+*siro*), *sirimsapa* (Skt *sarīsṛpa*), *sumsumāra* (*susu*+*māra*, *m* shifted—Skt. *śiśumāra*).

36 Sometimes a consonant is inserted not in the body of a word but between two words for smoothness of pronunciation This is different from final consonants restored for which see 15, and is known as consonantal insertion *añña*+*añña*=*aññamañña* (Skt *anyânya*), *añña*+*attha*=*aññadatthu*, *ajja*+*agge*=*ajjatagge*, *āsanā*+*utthāya*=*āsanārutthāya*, *puna*+*eva*=*punadeva*, *punameva* (also *punareva*), for *pariyanta*, *pariyesanā*, *pariyāya* see 34, *su*+*uju*=*suhuju* (also *sūju*) An example of Epenthesis in a word containing a triple consonant is *hammiya* (Skt. *harmya*) Epenthesis is used to separate the consonants in *jyotsnā*=*dosinā*, *sukshma*=*sukhuma*, (see 31).

37 A vowel or a consonant is rarely introduced in the beginning of a word *strī*=*itthī* (also *thī*), *utthāna*=*vutthāna*

38. There are some instances of both assimilation and epenthesis in the same word √*snā*=*nahā*, *smita*=*mihita*[21]

19 It is necessary first to shorten the long vowel followed by two consonants according to 50 before *i* is inserted

20 I followed by a dissimilar vowel is changed into *y* so that *pari*-becomes *pary* In Pali we can either take it as an insertion of *i* between *r* & *y* or '*y*' inserted between *pari* and the dissimilar vowel

21 As a general rule a triple consonant in a word is reduced to a double consonant *candra*-*canda*, *mantra* *manta* etc —(*indriya* and *mantrā* are exceptions) But by epenthesis *harmya*-*hammiya*, √*kri*+*tvā*=*karitvā* (also *katvā*) Assimilation takes place in a triple consonant containing a sibilant

Some other processes :—

39 Analogy—is responsible for certain irregular forms of words *su* + *gati* = *sugati* sometimes becomes *suggati* on the analogy of *duggati* (*dur* + *gati*), similarly *subbaca* (*su* + *vacas*) on the analogy of dubbaca, and *anuddaya* on the analogy of *uddaya*. These pairs usually go together ; hence this imitation. For the same reason *vāyu* becomes *vāyo* on the analogy of *tejo* and *āpo* *Puthujjana* is equated with *pṛthagjana*, (average men) but through confusion with *pṛthu* = *several* (cp *puthusamaṇabrāhmaṇā*). *Bahu* + *suta* + *ya* should be *bāhusucca* but the actual form is *bāhusacca* through mixing-up with *sacca* *Nir* + *gacchati* = *nirgacchati* = *niggacchati* but there is also the form *nigacchati* used in the same sense with *ni*- instead of *nir*-, (see 90). √*nṛt* + *ya* = *nacca*—(*ty* = *cc*), so *naccana* has a double *cc* although it is derived from √*nṛt* + *ana*, the doubling of *k* of *sakkuṇāti* (√*sak* + *unā*) is in imitation of *sakkoti* (√*sak* + *no*)

40 By false analogy new grammatical forms which are not covered by the rules of grammar, are made *manas* and *vacas* are consonantal bases, and their instrumentive sing forms are *manasā* and *vacasā* respectively, and on their analogy *mukha* and *pada* form the inst *mukhasā*, *padasā*.

41 There is a tendency of declining a consonantal base as if it were a vowel base, (see 13), and forms of both consonant and vowel bases are met with *karman*—*kammanā*, *kammena* in the instr , *dhītar* forms *dhītarā*, in the instr and there is also the form *dhītāya* like the instr of *kaññā*, *kārin* becomes *kārinaṁ* and *kāriṁ* in the accusative of *kārī*, the former is Skt. *kārinam* ; in the same way *verinesu* and *verīsu* in the locative plu. of *verī*, (Skt. *vairin*), the former is formed from a hypothetical base *verina* , *mahat* ought to form *mahanto* in the nominative plu masculine (Skt *mahantaḥ*) but there is *mahantā* on the analogy of *puttā* , the present participle *gacchat*—(-*at*, -*ant*) forms the nom sing, masc. *gaccham* (Skt. *gacchan*) and *gacchanto* on the analogy of *putto*, and the plu form is *gacchantā* on the analogy of *puttā* although it ought to be *gacchanto* from Skt. *gacchantaḥ*, but then *gacchanto* is the nom sing. form, *pacat* in the loc sing forms *pacati* as in

and a nasal after one of the consonants is dropped, and a vowel may or may not be introduced *jyotsnā* *junhā*, *kṛtsna*—*kasina* etc (see 31), *ratman* becomes *ratuma* With a double consonant in the middle either assimilation or epenthesis takes place *ārya* *ayya* or *ariya* √*vas*+*ta*—*uttha* or *vasita*, *tṛshṇā* = *tanhā* or *tasiṇā*, (see 21) With a double consonant in the beginning assimilation first takes place, and then one of the consonants is dropped or the double consonant is separated by epenthesis *smarati*>*ssarati*= *sarati* or *sumarati*, √*snā* *nhā* = *nahā*, *smita*>*mhita* = *mihita*, *sneha* = *sineha*, (see 10)

Skt. as well as *pacantasmim, pacantamhi* as in the loc pl. of *putta*. The consonantal form is preserved in the inst. sing. of *vāc = vācā* in *manasā vācā uda cetasā*.

42. In the declension of vowel bases too instances of false analogy are found the gen sing of *kapi* in Skt. is *kapeh* but Pali *kapissa* is on the analogy of *puttassa*, and *kapino* is on the analogy of words in *-in*, gen sing., like *çacin—çacinaḥ*, *-smin* (loc. sing.) and *-smā* (abl sing.) are used with pronominal bases in Skt but these are also applied in Pali to vowel bases as well, e.g. *kapismim, kapismā, puttasmim, puttasmā* These forms, however, are not met with in Skt In Skt the dat gen sing forms of *kanyā* as also of other feminine vowel bases are different but in Pali not only these two but ablative and loc sing. forms too are the same as the inst. sing. form In Pali the nom and acc. pl forms are identical (except in the declension of *putta* and of the first person pronoun), the abl pl forms are the same as the inst pl, and the dat pl forms are the same as gen pl In Skt this is not the case Instances can be multiplied but these examples will suffice to illustrate the point.

43 Conjugation too provides examples of false analogy In Skt the pl of *karoti* is *kurvanti* but Pali has not only the pl *kubbanti* but also a sing *kubbati* which is unknown in Skt, Skt has *mriyate* from √*mṛ* but Pali has *marati* on the analogy of forms like *pacati* as well as the rare form *miyyati* corresponding to Skt *mriyate*, √*ci* forms *cinoti* in Skt but Pali √*ci* = *cai* (*ati*) as in *samcarati* as if it were a root of the first conj Compare the form *cunāti* instead of *cunoti* (Skt *cinoti*) Pali *jināti* is on the analogy of the roots of the fifth conj (besides the regular *jeti* and *jayati*) *Vadeti* is on the analogy of the roots of the seventh conj (besides *vadati*), cp *puneti* instead of *punāti* *Nā* in Pali is the fifth conjugational sign but as almost all the roots of the fourth conj add *nā* it is optionally regarded as a fourth conj sign, e g, *sunoti, sunāti*; *pappoti, pāpuṇāti* In fact forms with *nā* are more common. The very rare form *sakkati* (instead of *sakkoti*) is on the analogy of *pacati*, similarly *karamāna* instead of *kuromāna* Skt *pacāni*, 1st person sing imperative is Pali *pacāmi* because the pl. of the Ist pers. imperative in Pali *pacāma* is the same as in Skt, and as the first pers pl present tense in Skt *pacamāh* is eqivalent to Pali *pacāma* so the sing. of the imperative 1st pers in Pali is made the same as the form of the present tense. Skt. has *paceyam* and *pacema* in the 1st pers optative sing and pl. respectively but the Pali forms are *paceyyāmi* and *paceyyāma* in the 1st pers sing. and pl, *paceyyāsi, paceyyātha* in the 2nd pers sing. and pl. on

the analogy of the forms of the present tense. Pali *paceyyaṃ*, medial optative, 1st pers sing. is equal to Skt *paceyam* which is, however, the corresponding active form *Deti*, *denti*, (*ni*) *dheti*[22] are formed on the analogy of the imperative *dehi* Perfect *āhuḥ* becomes *āhaṃsu* in Pali on the analogy of forms like *akaṃsu*; (*āhu* is also frequent in Pali). *Sat* + √*kṛ* + *tya*>*satkṛtya* = *sakkacca*, a gerundial form used as an adverb has also the form *sakkaccaṃ* on the analogy of adverbs like *sīghaṃ*, *sanikaṃ*

44. The lengthening of *a* in *pakkāmi* (*pa* + √*kam* + *i*) is due to confusion with forms like *pacāmi* (√*pac* + *a* + *mi*, *ā* lengthened); see 69. *Udapādi* and *udatāri* have a long vowel for a similar reason. Pali has *kapībhi* with *ī* on the analogy of lengthening *a* before gen pl. *nām* (e.g., *putrānām*), similarly *kapisu* has sometimes the *ī* lengthened—*kapīsu*.

45. The *n* of *sakkunāti* is lingualized because most of the roots of the 4th conj has the lingual nasal (cp *suṇāti*, *pāpuṇāti*), see 43 The *n* of *anha* in *sāyanha*, *majjhanha* is lingualized on the analogy of *pubbanha*, similarly the *n* of *kasiṇa* (Skt *kṛtsna*). *Junhā* (Skt *jyotsnā*), *sunhā*, *sunisā* (Skt *snuṣā*) have the *n* because almost all the combinations of *nh* are lingualized *ṇh* (e g , *ganhāti*, *taṇhā*); see 31.

46 Dissimilation—is making different one of the sounds repeated in a word This process is the opposite of Assimilation The few examples of it are *lāngala* = *nangala*, *lānula* = *nangula*, *lalāṭa* = *nalāta*—these are words with two *l* s *Cikitsā* = *tikicchā* (but *vicikitsā* = *vicikicchā*) *Menander* changes one *n* into *l* in *Milinda*

47 Metathesis—is the transposition of syllables or letters in a word It is also rare *maçaka* = *makasa*, *gardabha* = *gadrabha*, *hrada* = *daha* and *rahada* (through imaginary *hada* and *harada*). Metathesis takes place whenever *h* is followed by a semi-vowel In fact *h* is always used to aspirate a consonant in Pali *jihvā* = *jivhā*, *sāhiaya* = *sarhaya*, *ahna* = *anha*, *mahyam* = *mayham*, *upānah* = *upahanā*, √*gah* + *nā* = *ganhā*(*ti*), √*muh* + *ya* = *muyha*(*ti*), the present participle suffix—*ant* becomes *nta* In *sumsumāra* the *m* is shifted (*susummāra*, Skt *śiśumāra* has no *m*), the *u* is shifted in *sunhā* and *sunisā*, equivalents of Skt. *snuṣā* Conjunct *ry* also shifts the position of the consonants. √*kar* + *yāt* = *kay* (*i*)*rā*, *pari* + *upa* + √*ās* (*paryupās*) = *payirupās*(ati). similarly *payirudāharati* (*pari* + *ud*). In *yi* a vowel is often inserted showing the tendency in Pali of avoiding a conjunct consonant like this

22 Skt √*dā* becomes *dadāti*, also in Pali, and Skt √*dhā* becomes *dadhāti* but in Pali *dadhāti* becomes *dahati* (as in *paridahati*, *samodahati*) See 59

Exceptions: *brahman*, *brāhmaṇa*, *gahvara*=*gabbhara*, *hrasva* =*rassa*, *hyaḥ* (being mono-syllabic) becomes *hiyyo* by epenthesis In *rh* epenthesis takes place, (see 34 and for *nir*+ √*har* see 90).

48. Elision · A vowel is dropped in the following words. *agāra*=*agga* (cp *bhattagga*), *duhitā*=*dhītā*, *ājāneya*=*ājañña*, (cp. the forms *jātiyā*=*jaccā*, *rattiyā*=*ratyā*, *nadiyo*=*najjo*). The initial vowel is dropped in *snuṣā*=*husā* and sometimes in *uposatha*= *posatha*; (cp the form *thī* as a variant of *itthī*) *Api*, *iva*, *idāni*, *iti*, the last following a niggahīta have optional forms without the initial vowel. This loss of the initial vowel cannot be accounted for by the rules of sandhi

A consonant is elided in the body of the following words. *sthavira*=*thera*, *mayūra*=*mora*, *yavāgū*=*yāgu*, *caturdaça*=*cuddasa*, *coddasa*, *khalu*=*kho*, *bhadante* has an abbreviated form *bhante*, *Kusinārā* is from *Kuśinagara*, *abhiṇha* from *abhikkhaṇa*, *mātucchā* from *mātṛsvasā*, *dhorayha* from *dhuravayha*(?), the variants of *dukkha*, *upekkhā*, *apekkhā*, are *dukha*, *upekhā*, *apekhā* respectively Skt. Perfect *vividuḥ*=*vidu* in Pali because the perfect tense was regarded superfluous and the distinctive feature of it— the reduplicative syllable was lost, *m* is dropped in *ā*+ √*śams*= *āsas* (-*āna*) and in such examples of sandhi or metre as *labheyyâham* (*labheyyaṃ*+*aham*), *kathâham* (*katham*+*aham*), *addasâham* (*addasaṃ*+*ahaṃ*), *Buddhânusāsanam* (*Buddhānam*+*sāsanam*)

Ya at the end of a word in a sentence is sometimes dropped *anupādāya* becomes *anupādā*—(*anupadā āsavehi cittaṃ vimucci*), *vyārosanā paṭighasaññā* instead of *vyārosanāya paṭighasaññāya*— (*vyārosanā paṭighsaññā na aññamaññassa dukkham iccheyya*), *abhiññā* instead of *abhiññāya* (*sayam abhiññā sacchikatvā*), *paṭisankhā yoniso*=*paṭisankhāya yoniso*, *saddhā* instead of *saddhāya* (*saddhā agārasmā anagāriyam pabbaji*) *katipaya* as well as *katipa*— (*katipâham*) [23]

49 Compensation The loss of a consonant is often compensated by lengthening the preceding vowel *upanishad*=*upanisā*, *candramas*=*candimā*, (see 11), *im* in a word becomes *ī* *siṃha*= *sīha*, *viṃçati*=*vīsati*, cp *daṃṣṭrā*=*dāṭhā*, *sam* becomes *sa* in *sākacchā*, *sārambha* √*Kar*+*tabba*=*kātabba* (Skt *kartavya*) also *kattabba*, √*kar*+*tum*=*kātum* (Skt *kartum*) also *kattuṃ* In sandhi *ṃ* is sometimes dropped—(see Elision 48), and the preceding vowel, if short, is legthened by compensation: *katham*+*aham*=*kathâham*, *labheyyaṃ*+*ahaṃ* = *labheyyâham*, *addasaṃ*+*ahaṃ* = *addasâhaṃ*.

23 See contraction 54 Some of these examples may as well come under 'Contraction'.

Many examples of compensation are found in Pali sandhi but there is nothing like this in Skt

50. A long vowel in a Pali word is never followed by a double consonant or by a niggahīta, and so it is shortened before them: √*hū*+*trā*=*hutvā*, √*dā*+*tvā*=*datvā*, *rātri*=*ratti*, *parākrama*=*parakkama*, *śūdra*=*sudda*, *ārya*=*ayya* (also *ariya*), *sūrya*=*suriya*, *ācārya*=*ācariya*, *ākhyāna*=*akkhāna*, *ākrośa*=*akkosa*, *ā*+√*jnā*+*ya* =*aññāya*, *śānta*=*santa*, *dānta*=*danta*, *pātra*=*patta*, *śāstra*=*sattha*; *māṁsa*=*maṁsa*, *bharān*=*bharaṁ*, *kaññā*+*m*=*kaññaṁ* Exceptions *dātta* (=dah, a big knife), here *ā* is not shortened in order to avoid *datta* which has a different meaning In sandhi with *su* and *sa*, *svākkhatā* (but *akkhāta*), *sâkkhara*, also *sākkarana*, *sākya*.

51 Instead of a long vowel being shortened before a double consonant the double consonant is sometimes made single: *dirgha*= *dīgha*, *śīrṣa*=*sīsa*, *śighra*=*sīgha*, *mūlya*=*mūla*, *dhātrī*=*dhāti*, Skt *jīryati*=*jīrati* or *jīyati* in Pali, *lākṣā*=*lākhā*.

52 A long vowel followed by a single consonant is quantitatively the same as a short vowel followed by a double consonant *krīdā*=*khiddā*, *pipīlikā*=*kipillikā*, *ālāpa*=*allāpa*, *pūya*>*puyya** =*pubba*, *cūla* as well as *culla*, *nīla* as well as *nidda*, *kātabba* as well as *kattabba*, *mīyati* as well as *miyyati*, *pitūnam* as well as *pitunnam*, *pañca*+*nam*=*pañcannam* (instead of *pañcānam*)· cp *Uruvelā*=*Uruvelā*, *ā*+√*chad*=*acchādeti* for which see 81; cp. also *ādarśa*=*ādāsa*

53 It may be mentioned at this stage that all the above rules have the effect of changing different Skt words into Pali with the same form: *accha*=*accha*, clear or *ṛksha*=*accha*, a bear, *puttha*= *pṛsta*, asked or *pusta*, nourished, *ottha*=*ustra*, camel or *ostha*, lip, *dosa*=*dvesa*, hatred (to avoid *deśa*, country) or *dosa*, fault, *palāpa*, non-sense or *palāva*, chaff, *pubba*=before or *pūya*, pus, *puttā*=*putrāh* (nom pl) or *putrāt* (abl sing), *sat*- the present participle of √*as* (also meaning 'good) or *śrat* which has the same sense as *saddhā*—(*sad*+√*dhā*), *sa* is the abbreviation of *saha* or of *sva*-· *sadattha*=*sat*(*d*)*attha* or *sa*, own+*attha*, (*d* as an insertion), *jhāyati*=*dhyāyati*, meditates or *kṣāyati*, burns, *sarati*, moves or *smarati*, remembers, *satta*=seven or *sattva*, being; *sutta*=*sūtra*, a short rule or *supta*, asleep, *appamatta*=*apramatta*, ardent or *alpamātra*, only a little (cp. *appamattā na mīyare*, the earnest do not die and *appamatto ayam gandho*, only a little is this fragrance); *aḍḍha*=*ardha*, half or *ṛddha*, rich; aṭṭha=*artha*, meaning or *aṣṭa*, eight, *santa*=√*śam*+*ta*, tranquil or √*śram*,

to strive + *ta*[21], *danta* = √*dam* + *ta*, tamed or *danta*, tooth; *mūla* = root or *mūlya*, price.

It is easy to change a Skt. word into its equivalent in Pali by applying the rules mentioned above, but to do the reverse is not easy. It is difficult, for instance, to know whether the initial *u* of *utu* is an original vowel or derived from *r*; *tth* may represent *sth* or *rth*: *sattha* may be *śāstra*, science, scripture or *śastra*, weapon, *sārtha*, caravan or *sa* + *artha*, meaningful (cp. *sattham savyañjanaṁ*), *tt* may be original or may represent assimilation of *tr* or *pt* as in *patta* = *pātra*, bowl or *patra*, leaf or *pra* + √*āp* + *ta*.

54 Contraction: *aya*, *ava* are sometimes contracted to *e* and *o* respectively: *adhyayana* = *ajjhena*, *Udayana* = *Udena*, *Ujjayinī* = *Ujjenī*, *Yavana* = *Yona*, *lavaṇa* = *loṇa*, *avakāça*, = *okāsa*, *avatarati* = *otarati*, *vyavahāra* = *vohāra*, *nayati* and *neti*, *palāyati* and *paleti*, *corayati* and *coreti*, *bhavanto* and *bhonto*. *Ayana* may also be *āna*: *Maudgalyāyana* = *Moggallāna*, *Kaccāyana* = *Kaccāna*, *patisallāyana* (a hypothetical form) = *patisallāna*. *Āścarya* = *acchera*, (*āścarya* >* *acchayira* = *acchera*, *ay* becoming *e*), besides the common form *acchariya*.

55. Reduplication: Sometimes a consonant is arbitrarily reduplicated: *pratikūla* = *patikkula*, *anuddaya* (*anu* + *daya*), *upasista* = *upassattha*, *visarjayati* = *vissajjeti*, *jātassara* (*jāta* + *saras*), *upakkilesa* (*upa* + *kleśa*), *bhisakka* (*bhisak*), *suggati* (*su* + *gati*), *naccana*—Pali √*nac* + *ana*,[25] *uju* and *ujju*, *bhadanta* and *bhaddanta*, *Vajjī* is from *vṛjin*.

Y has a tendency of being reduplicated in Pali: *mṛyate* = *miyyati*, *bhāgineya* = *bhāgineyya*, *vi* √*ci* + *ya* = *viceyya*, *hyah* = *hiyyo*, *śreyah* = *seyyo*, *bhūyah* = *bhiyyo*, *dakṣiṇīya* = *dakkhineyya*, *bhojanīya* = *bhojaneyya*, *vyākaraṇa* = *veyyākaraṇa*[26]. *V* also may be reduplicated, *vv* = *bb*: *yobbana* (*yauvana*), *pasibbaka* (*prasevaka*), *pubba*, pus is Skt *puya*—(*y* = *b*) reduplicated. Cp the reduplication of consonants in Bengali.

56 The consonants in the following words appear to have been reduplicated but by comparison with the Skt. forms they are found to be unreal cases of reduplication: *pabbajati* (√*vaj*, Skt. √*vraj*), *pakkamati* (√*kam*, Skt √*kram*), *vippayutta* (*vi* + *pa*, Skt *vi* + *pra*),

24 The sameness of form has led to the derivation of samana from √*sam*, to be quite, instead of from √*sram*

25 *Suggati*, *naccana*, *anuddaya* are due to analogy, see 39

26 Reduplicated *ya* often assumes the form *eyya* causing confusion with the optative 3rd pers sing form, (cp ekañ ca *vijeyya-m-attānaṁ sa ve saṅgāmaj-uttama*—here *jeyya* is optative)

udakappamāna (*pamāna*, Skt. *pramāna*), *chaddanta* (*cha*, Skt. *saḍ*) ; see 23.

57. Aspiration *parusa*=*pharusa*, *paraśu*=*pharasu*, *kīla*=*khīla* (*peg*) *sukumāra*=*sukhumāla*, *pushya*=*phussa*, *kubja*=*khujja*, *grāsa*=*ghāsa*, *krīdā*=*khiḍḍā*, *basta*=*bhasta*, *busa*=*bhusa*, *Pippalī*=*Pipphalī*, *pippala*=*pipphala*, *Vidura*=*Vidhura*, *Godāvarī*=*Godhāvarī*, *kiñcikkha* (*kincid*+*ka*), *labheta*=*labhetha*, *amanyata*=*amaññatha*, √*sak*+*no*+*ti*=*sakkoti* but in the aorist and the future, *asakkhi*, *sakkhissati*, *ghara* is from *gṛha*.

58 When *saṁ* √*kar*+*a* becomes *sankhāra* or *ni*+√*ci*+*ta* becomes *nicchita* it appears there has been aspiration But these are not genuine cases of aspiration as would appear from their equivalents in Skt , the Skt forms are *saṁskāra* and *niścita*, and the aspiration is due to the assimilation of *sk* and *śc* (See 91 and 89)

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59 Pali and Prakrit It may be noted that Pali words exhibit many characteristics which are found in a greater degree in the Prakrit dialects e g , dropping the intervocal consonant ; cp *mayūra*=*mora*—(*a*+*u*=*o*), *sthavira*=*thera*—(*a*+*i*=*e*), *y* replacing an intervocal consonant *khādita and svādita* sometimes become *khāyita sāyita*, *tadidam*=*tayidam* , the change of *ājñā* into *ānā* (not *aññā* which means super-knowledge) is according to Prakrit in which *jn*=*nn* , replacement of mute aspirates by *h* *rudhira*=*ruhira*, *laghu*=*lahu*(*ka*), *prabhu*=*pahu*, *prabhūta*=*pahūta*, √*dhā* forms the base *dadhā* which becomes *daha*(ti)—cp *paridahati*, *samādahati*, *sandahati* , (see 43, foot note)

60 In Magadhi Prakrit unlike in Pali the nom sing of the base in *a* (both masculine and neut) ends in *e*, and there are some examples of this in Pali *atthi attakāre parakāre purisakāre* instead of *attakāro* etc , *sukhe dukkhe jīvasattame* instead of *sukham* etc These expressions are found where the views of rival teachers are discussed, and possibly their linguistic peculiarities have been preserved *Vanappagumbe yathā phussitagge* (Ratana Sutta) instead of *vanappagumbo yathā phussitaggo* is another instance of nom sing. in *e*. (cp *se* and *ye* in *seyyathā* and *yebhuyyena* instead of the usual base *so* or *sa* and *yo or ya* ; similarly *bhante* and *bhikkhave* end in *e*)

In Magadhi *j* too is replaced by *y* , in Pali the only example of such a change is *nija*=*niya* , *dy becomes yy* but in Pali only *d* of *-ud* followed by *y* becomes *yy* : *udyāna*=*uyyāna*, *ud*+√*yuñj*=*uyyuj* and *r* invariably becomes *l* but in Pali only in a few words this change takes place ; (see 8 and 25)

There are other features of Magadhi which are, however, not found in Pali. And Pali connot be called Magadhi although there are traces of Magadhism in it.

*   *   *   *   *   *

61. Sanskrit grammatical forms and Pali. I have merely indicated the phonetic changes governing Pali and have not attempted to show how far these were due to the influence of the various dialects. "It is a wrong method to give the Skt from a Pali word as its ultimate reduction and explanation", because some Skt. words especially Buddhist Skt. are later than Pali, e g., *smṛtyupasthāna* (*satipaṭṭhāna*), *sākshātkaroti* corresponds to *sacchikaroti*, *pṛthagjana* (*puthujjana*), *autapya* (*otappa*), *aupapaduka* (*opapātika*), *sārdham* (*saddhiṁ*) etc. Again some words are peculiarly Pali like *peyyāla*, *nīvaraṇa*, *sākacchā pilandhati* etc. It is, however, possible to equate Pali words with Skt. in the majority of cases I have avoided as far as possible words whose equivalents are of a doubtful character, also those that are very rarely met with It should be borne in mind that Pali formations are different in many cases from Skt. formations. It would, for instance, be undesirable to deduce from Skt *aiśvarya* and *autsukya*, Pali *issariya* and *ussukka* and to cite these as examples of Skt. *ai* and *au* changing into Pali *i* and *u* respectively. It would be better to derive the Pali words from *issara* and *ussuka*, the initial vowels not undergoing strengthening because in such matters Pali grammatical rules are very indefinite Similarly *gārava* may be derived from Pali *garu* and not from Skt. *guru* changing into *gaurava* and *u* becoming *au* by *vṛddhi*, the *a* of *garu* becomes *ā* by *vṛddhi* and, so, *gārava*; instead of equating adhippāya with abhiprāya it may be taken as formed with *adhi*- instead of with abhi- Anāthapiṇḍika must not be derived from Anāthapiṇḍada, Vāsuladattā from Vāsavadattā, Purindada from Purandara or Bharukaccha from Bhṛgukaccha, although these pairs refer to the same persons or place. And it would be wrong to say that the *e* of Mahendra is changed into *i* in Mahinda for according to Pali sandhi Mahā + inda = Mahinda. (See E Muller's *Pali Grammar*, Introduction)

62. There is a tendency in Pali of using simple words, and cumbrous ones like *svasr*, *bhāsya*, *sāntvanā*, *manāṁsi* (nominative plu. of *manas*) are avoided, and other words are used in their place. Again, simplified forms are used · $\sqrt{}$*kir* + *na* = *kinna* but in Skt. the root of *kīrna* is *kṛ*, similarly $\sqrt{}$*jir* (instead of $\sqrt{}$*jṛ*) + *na* = *jiṇṇa* (but *jarā* has to be derived from $\sqrt{}$*jṛ* + *a*).

63 A comparative discussion of Pali and Skt. grmmatical rules is beyond the scope of this article but certain rules of Skt. grammar are mentioned here that will help in understanding the

forms of Pali words which explained by Pali grammar alone are apt to be regarded as exceptions. But it must, at the same time, be remembered that Pali grammar has its own method although it has not been able to break away from the moorings of Skt.

64. Skt forms which are avoided in Pali are also met with side by side with the forms that are peculiarly Pali. √*Mṛ* forms *mriyate* in Skt but Pali has *marati* besides *mīyati* or *miyyati*, Skt. *karoti* forms the pl. *kurvanti* and not *karonti*; but in Pali besides the regular form karonti there is the form *kubbanti*; (see 43). Skt. medial form from √*kr* is *kurute* which is also found in Pali. In Skt. there is the optative suffix 'yāt', and besides the regular Pali *kareyya* there is *kayirā* (√*kar* + *yāt*), *vāc* forms the inst. sing. *vācā* (also in Pali) but the corresponding Pali form *vācā* has the inst. *vācāya* which is, however the regular form, *h* preceded by any vowel except *a*, *ā* and followed by a vowel or a soft consonant[27] is changed into *r*, and by this rule the form *sabbhireva* (*sadbhih* + *eva*) may be explained; if is, however, taken as a case of consonantal insertion in Pali The medial voice has almost fallen out of use in Pali; this is usually changed into the Active but Skt. medial verbs are also found in Pali poetry. *labhate*, *miyyare*; in the passive voice many Pali verbs have this medial terminations applied to them although such terminations unlike in Skt. are optional

65 The Skt base is found in some compounds *maccihara* is from *mat*, the Skt. base of *aham* plus *sara*, the pl. base of *yūyam* is *yusmad* in Skt and the corresponding Pali base *tumhad* is to be found in *tumhādisa*, the base in Skt. is *manaḥ*, and in Pali it would be *mano* (cp. *manomaya*, *manopubbangama*), *taduttthāya* is *tato utthāya*—tad the Skt base is retained in Pali

66 A Pali form is sometimes easier to explain with the help of Skt rules *etad* + *ahosi* = *etadahosi* in Skt. but as in Pali the final consonant is replaced by *ṁ*, the Pali form is explained by a special rule that the *m* of *taṁ*, *etam*, *yaṁ* and *sakiṁ*, *sakaṁ* is changed into *d* when followed by a vowel , thus the original Skt. form is reached. *Krta* is derived from √*kr* + *ta* but in Pali this is to be explained by √*kar* + *ta*, the final *r* being dropped. Similarly *smṛ* > *smar* > *ssar* = √*sar* + *ti* = *sati*. *Sam* √*sr* + *a* = *saṁsāra* (*r* = *ār* by *vrddhi*)—Pali *saṁ* + √*sar* + *a*, *ā* + √*hṛ* + *a* = *āhāra*—Pali *ā* + √*har* + *a*. *Samvṛta* = *sam* + √*vr* + *ta*—Pali *saṁ* + √*var* + *ta*, by dropping the final consonant and pointing out that the *a* following *v* is changed into *u*. (Here √*vu* cannot be taken as the root because *samvaṛa* cannot be explained from √*vu*)

27 The last three mutes of a group, semi-vowels and *h* are soft.

67. In Skt. the conjugational sign of √*āp* is *nu* and in Pali it is the strengthened form *no*, e. g. *pa*+√*āp*+*no*=*pappoti* but the gerundial *pappuyya* has to be explained by *pa*√*āp*+*nu*+*ya*

68. In Skt. the consonantal base in -*in*, for instance, *cārin* forms the feminine *cāriṇī*, but since *cārin* is regarded as the vowel base *cārī* in Pali this form is explained by *nī* added to the base to form the feminine (with the preceding vowel shortened)—*cārī*+*nī*=*cāriṇī*.

69. In Skt the preceding *a* is lengthened before a suffix beginning with *m* or *v*. e g., √*pac*+*a*+*mi*=*pacāmi* *Bhuttāvī* (*bhutta*+*vī*) can be explained by this rule, similarly *dassāvī*.

70 A number of roots which have the conjugational sign *a* but whose roots do not take *guna* are classified under a separate group in Skt so that √*kṛṣ* becomes *kṛṣati*, Pali √*kas*=*kasati* (but if in Pali the *ṛ* is *guna*ted into *ai* as is usually done then on the analogy of √*vṛdh*=*vardh*=*vaddh*(*ati*) the form would be *kars*=*kassati* which, however, is the passive) As *guna* may take place in √*kṛṣ*+*aka* Skt. will have both *kṛṣaka* and *karṣaka* but Pali *kars*+*aka*=*kassaka* only. In the same way √*spṛś*=Pali √*phus* (*ati*) but √*spṛś*+*a*=Pali *pharśa*=*phassa*

71. In Skt. *jayati* and *nayati* are formed from √*ji*+*a*+*ti* and √*nī*+*a*+*ti* respectively, the vowel of the root in the first conjugation taking *guṇa*, the bases become *je* and *ne* which followed by *a* (*e*+*a*=*ay*) make by rule of sandhi—*jayati* and *nayati*, and the same in Pali Similarly √*bhū*+*a*=*bho*+*a*=*bhav*+*a*+*ti*=*bhavati* both in Skt. and Pali But in Pali there are additional forms *jeti*, *neti*, *bhoti* (cp *anubhoti*)—the tense terminations in these are directly applied after the vowel of the root is strengthened. (See for *guna* 76 and for *e*=*ay* and *o*=*av* 77)

72. *Tṛ* the suffix for agent nouns forms the feminine by adding *ī* which together with *ṛ* becomes *rī* by sandhi rule The only word in Pali which can be explained by this rule is *dhātī*—Skt. *dhātṛ*+*ī*=*dhātrī*=*dhātī*.

73 Skt. √*vac* forms the p p. p. *ukta* but the Pali is *vutta* The Skt. form is, however, found in the word *durutta*, (*dur*+*ukta*).

74 It may be mentioned that whereas in Skt there are ten conjugations, there are only seven in Pali The first conjugation in Pali contains three conjugations which are lumped together without anything common among them, (see Duroiselle's *Pali Grammar*). The first and the third divisions of the first conjugation form together the first conjugation in Skt, and the second and the fourth divisions are two separate conjugations in Skt. And in Pali under the first conjugation are included roots whose vowels are *guna*ted as

well as those that are not But in Skt. these two classes of roots are treated separately, and much confusion is thereby avoided; (see 70)

75 It may be noted that no form corresponding to the indeclinable *labbhā*, (originally future passive participle) is to be found in Skt It is on the analogy of *sakkā*.

76. *Guṇa* and *Vṛddhi* In Skt. the guna of *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū*, *ṛ*, *ṝ*; *ḷ* are *e*, *o*, *ar*, and *al* respectively, (the other vowels cannot take *guṇa*), and the *vṛddhi* of *a*, *i*, *ī*, *e*, *u*, *ū*, *o*, *ṛ*, *ṝ*, *ḷ* are *ā*, *ai*, *au*, *ār*, *āl* respectively. A knowledge of this is necessary for understanding the formation of certain Pāli words *ṛ*, *ḷ* donot take guna in mṛta, Pali mata, √smṛ + *ti* = *smṛti*, Pali *sati*, √*dṛś*, (Pali √*dis*) + *ta* = *dista* = *diṭṭha*. But *guṇa* takes place in *mṛ* + *ana*, Pali √*mar* + *ana* = *marana*, √*smṛ* + *a* + *ti* = *smarati*, Pali *sarati*, *dṛś* + *ana* = *darsana*, Pali *dassana*, √*kḷp* = *kalp*, *kapp* (*a*), *kapp* (*eti*) √*Dṛś*, becomes √*dis*, and √*dis* + *ta* = *diṭṭha* but *dassana* cannot be explained without the help of Skt root √*dṛś*, which by *guna* becomes *darś* + *ana* = *dassana*. from Pali √*dis* or √*das* it is not possible to have *dassana*. *Vṛddhi* except of *a* is not recognised nor possible in Pali but to take one example —bhāveti cannot be explained by *guna*. √*bhū* + *e* by *guna* = *bho* + *e* = *bhaveti*—(*o* = *av*) but the form is *bhāveti*, whereas the *vṛddhi* of *u* being *au*, √*bhu* becomes *bhau* + *e* = *bhāveti*—(*au* = *āv*), see 77. Similarly *bhāva* is obtained by means of *vṛddhi* and *bhava* by *guna* of √*bhū* + *a*.

77 Sandhi. Some of the Skt sandhi rules have to be used in order to explain certain fromations in Pali which are not covered by Pali rules *e*, *o*, *ai* and *au* followed by a vowel are changed into *ay*, *av*, *āy*, and *āv* respectively —√*nī* + *a* = *ne* + *a*, √*bhū* + *a* = *bho* (by guna) + *a*, √*bhu* + *e* = *bhau* (by *vṛddhi*) + *e* and applying this rule *nayati*, *bhavati*, *bhāveti* respectively are obtained. See 76

It must be noted that *e* and *o* may be the contracted forms of *aya* and *ava* respectively as well *Udayana* = *Udena*, *avatarati* = *otarati*, (See 54).

78 In Skt, assimilation is unknown but consonantal changes are regulated by means of consonant sandhis and other rules. A mute is changed into the third of its own class followed by a vowel or a soft consonant, so that *mahat* + *dhana* = *mahaddhana*, *sat* + *dharma* = *saddharma*, *sat* + *bhih* = *sadbhi* Pali *sabbhi*,[28] the same change, however, takes place in Pali by assimilation. Although there is no such thing in Pali as consonantal sandhi Skt consonant sandhi rules explain certain Pali forms which cannot otherwise be accounted for *pati* + √*yat* = *patiyādeti*, *nir* + √*yat* = *niyyādeti* —these forms cannot be explained except with the help of

28 *Tasmāt* + *iha* = *tasmātiha* is an exception

the above rule; similarly *tāvat + eva = tāvadeva*. In fact if a vowel or a soft consonant follows, a mute always is the third letter of a group, and on the other hand, if a hard consonant follows the mute is always the first letter of a group, e.g., *mahad + dhana, sad + dhā, tad + uṭṭhāya*, Skt.: *ut + panna, tat + purusa, mat + sara*.

79. In Skt. a consonant followed by a nasal is changed into the nasal of its own class: √*pad + na = (sam)panna* but this change takes place in Pali by the assimilation of consonants.

80 *Ch* following a vowel is changed into *cch*: *ā + chādayati = acchādayati*. This is covered in Pali by the rule of compensation; (see 52) But *kāma + chanda = kāmacchanda* is to be explained by the Skt rule; so also *succhanna, (su + channa)*.

81. There are cases in Skt. in which sandhi rules are not applied but consonantal changes take place according to other rules. √*muc + ta = mukta*, Pali *mutta*, √*yuj + ta = yukta*, Pali *yutta*, *ud* √*vij + da = udvigna*, Pali *ubbigga*, (*j* becomes *g + n = gg*), √*labh + ta = labdha*, Pali *laddha*, √*duh + ta = dugdha*, Pali *duddha*, similarly *Buddha, baddha*.

82. In Skt sandhi does not take place in every combination of consonants: pra + √*āp + no + ti = prāpnoti*, √*śak + no + ti = śaknoti, lag + na = lagna*, but in Pali these combinations of consonants assimilate, (see 23), and the corresponding forms are *pappoti, sakkoti* and *lagga*

83 In Skt *m* followed by a consonant in general is changed into *ṁ*, and followed by a mute becomes the nasal of the group to which the mute belongs *sam* becomes *saṁ-* or *san(gacchate)*, in Pali instead of *m* the final is always a *ṁ* which followed by a mute is changed into the nasal of the group to which the mute belongs (except the *ṁ* of *(e)tam, yam* and *sakim, sakaṁ* for which see 66), and the *ṁ* followed by a vowel is changed into *m*, there are, however, exceptions to this rule, sometimes assimilation with *ṁ* takes place, (see 32) Note that no change takes place when *m* is followed by a vowel in Skt, but since in Pali the final is *ṁ* a rule had to be made that *ṁ* followed by a vowel becomes *m*. This is reversion to the Skt original.

84 In Skt. *r* followed by *r* is dropped, and the preceding vowel, if short, is lengthened Examples from Pali *nir + roga = nīroga, dur + rama = dūrama, dur + rakkha = dūrakkha*.

85 *S* at the end of a Skt word is changed into *ḥ*, and in Pali *aḥ* becomes *o*. This change takes place in Pali whether the *s* or *ḥ* is at the end of a word or is followed by a vowel or any consonant; (in Skt, *aḥ* becomes *o* only before a vowel and a soft consonant). *namas = namaḥ = namo*; *manas = manaḥ = mano (manomaya)*; *vayas— vayaḥ = vayo (vayo anuppatto), ayas = ayaḥ = ayo (ayoghara), puras =*

purah = puro (*purohita*), *manopubbangama*. There is, however, an exception in *vayappatta*, and to explain this the Skt. rule on the point may be mentioned: in Skt. *aḥ* only when followed by a vowel or a soft consonant is changed into *o* (and not when followed by a hard consonant) so that *vayas = vayaḥ + prāpta = vayaḥprāpata* and by assimilation Pali *vayappatta* (like *duḥkha* = dukkha).

86. In Pali *r* at the end of *pātar* and *antar* first becomes *ḥ* and *aḥ = o*, (cp. *as = aḥ = o*). This change takes place also when a consonant follows: *pātar = pātaḥ = pato*—(*pāto va*); similarly anto—(*antogabbha*), *paras = paraḥ = paro* (*parosahassa*)[29] This change does not take place when final *r* is followed by a vowel, e g., pātar-āsa. In Skt. *r* is retained only before a vowel and a soft consonant so that *prātar + eva = prātareva* (Pali *patova*) and *antar + hito = antarhita* but the corresponding Pali from *antarahita* is an exception both according to Skt. and Pali examples

87 *R* as the final letter in any other word or suffix, if followed by a vowel is retained and if followed by a consonant is assimilated· *nir + upadhi*, *nir + āsanka*, *punareva* (also *punadeva* which is an irregular form), *punar + āvattitvā*, *nir + purisa = nippurisa*, *nir + mala = nimmala*, *punar + puna = punappuno*[30], *punar + bhava = punabbhava*. But the Skt rule is necessary in order to explain *nikkhamati* and *nipphanna* In Skt. the final *r* is changed into *h* when followed by a hard consonant, and when the hard consonant is *k* or *kh*, *p* or *ph* the *h* of *nih* is changed into *s* *nih + √kram = niskram = nikkham(ati)*, *nih + panna = nispanna = nipphanna* in Pali. But *catur + pada* (Skt. *catuh + pada = catuṣpada*) = *catuppada* in Pali—this is not in conformity with the Skt. rule but is due to assimilation like other Pali examples of this kind.

88 Any *h* followed by *c*, *ch* is changed into *ś*, the Pali word *nicchita* is from *nih(nir) + √ci + ta = niścita = nicchita*, so *nicchāreti* is from *niḥ + √car = niścar = nicchāreti*. But *niccala* is formed as usual by assimilation of *nir + cala*; so *duccarita* is from *dur + √car* instead of from Skt. *duścarita*.

89 It may be noted that in Skt there are *nir* and *ni*, two separate prepositions, also in Pali there are *nir*—(*nir + √yā + ti = niyyāti*, goes out) and *ni*-(*ni + sīdati = nisīdati*, sits down); similarly *nir + mita = nimmita*, *ni + rodha = nirodha* *Nir* followed by *√har* becomes *nī* · *nīharati*; so also *nīvarana*. Skt. *nirgrantha* is changed into *nigantha* due is confusion of *nir*- and *ni*-.

29 There is a form *puno-m-aham*, *puno* is formed from *punar* in the same way as *anto* from *antar*

30 The final *r* is dropped in *punar* (*puna*).

90. In Skt. *sam* add *pari* add an *s* before *kr*· *saṁskāra*, *pariṣkāra* from which Pali *saṅkhāra*, *parikkhāra*, (but *saṁskṛta* = *sakkata*, the Skt. language from *saṁ* + *kata*).

91. Spelling: The changing of *n* into *ṇ* in Skt is regulated by definite rules. There are, however, some words with an original *ṇ*, e.g., *guṇa*, *maṇi*, *puṇya*, *aṇu* (an atom) etc but *n* preceded by *r*, *ṛ*, *ṣ*, is changed into *ṇ* even if a vowel, a semi-vowel, a guttural or a labial interposes · *prāṇa*—(√an), *maraṇa*—(-*ana*) *Rāmāyaṇa* (*ayana*). The lingualization of *n* in a Pali word can be understood by referring to the original Skt. spelling, although the letters *r* and *ṣ* are not to be found in Pali they nevertheless exercise their influence. *kṣaṇa* = *khaṇa*, √*khī* + *na* = *khīṇa*—(Skt √*kṣī*), √*su* + *nā* = *suṇā*(*ti*)—(Skt *śru*), √*gah* + *nā* = *gaṇhā*(*ti*)—(Skt √*grah*), *pa* √*āp* + *unā* + *ti* = *pāpuṇāti*—(*pra*)

It may be noted that this rule is not generally observed so far as the case-endings in Pali are concerned Skt. *putrāṇām* (-*ṇām*), Pali *puttānam*, Skt *brahmaṇā*, Pali *brahmanā*, Skt *karmaṇi*, Pali *kammani*, the *n* of *yakṣiṇī* is not also lingualized in the Pali *yakkhinī*, similarly *bhīṣaṇa* = *bhisana*, *ghrāṇa* = *ghāna*, *bhrūṇahan* = *bhūnahā* On the contrary the *n* in the following words is lingualized in Pali but not in Skt *ñāṇa* (*jñāna*), *sakuṇa* (*śakuna*), *oṇamati* (*avanamati*), *saṇikam* (corresponding to Skt *śanaiḥ*). For the lingualization of *n* due to analogy see 15

92. The rule of changing *n* into *ṇ* is extended in Pali so as to cover the lingualization of all the dental letters, e.g., *pṛthivī* = *paṭhavī*, *kaivarta* = *kevaṭṭa*, *nirgrantha* = *nigaṇṭha*[31], *dukkaṭa*—(√*kar* but √*kar* + *ta* = *kata*), *vaṭṭati*, *saṁvaṭṭati*, (√*vṛt*), also *pavattati*, *saṁvattati*[32] *paṭi* (*prati*), also *pati*, (cp *patirūpa*, *pati* + *āgacchati* = *paccāgacchati*)

93. Roots in *ṣ* and *ś* lingualize the following *t* √*hṛṣ* + *ta* = *hṛṣṭa* = *haṭṭha*, √*mṛṣ* + *ta* = *mṛṣṭa* = *maṭṭha*, √*dṛś* + *ta* = *dṛṣṭa* = *diṭṭha*, √*viś* + *ta* = *viṣṭa* = (*pa*) *viṭṭha* It may again be mentioned here that wherever Pali *ṭṭh* is found the Skt sibilant must be understood to be either lingual or palatal and where the *tth* occurs the Skt. sibilant is dental In Skt *s* preceded by any vowel except *a* and *ā* or a guttural is lingualized

So, it is futile to claim Pali scholarship without a little learning in Sanskrit

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31 The preceding *n* must always be changed into *ṇ* if the following dental is lingualized

32 There is difference in the meaning of *vaṭṭati* and *vattati*, *vaṭṭati* is the same in meaning as Skt *vartate* *Vaṭṭati* is used in the sense of "is proper" in Pali—this form does not occur in Skt.

MISCELLANY

The word Ba'ūrah in Murūj ul-Zahab of Al Ma'sūdī*

Al-Ma'sūdī, the Arab author and traveller, was born in Baghdad towards the close of the third century A.H and died in Egypt in 345 A H. He can roughly be referred to the period *c* 890-956 A.D He visited Multan and Mansurah about the year A.H. 300 (A D 912), and Cambay about A H 304 (A D 916) His work *Murūj ul-Zahab*[1] records some interesting events of Indian history of his time, but due to certain peculiarities of the Arab language and script some of the proper names have been so changed[2] that it is sometimes difficult to identify them. One such word is Ba'ūrah (بؤورة).[3] The word was apparently spelt in different ways by different copyists of the original work of Ma'sūdī. Meynard, Sprenger and Raverty notice nearly half a dozen variants in the different MSS. consulted by them[4] Some of the passages where this word occurs may be given as follows —

(i) "One of the neighbouring kings of India, who is far from the sea, is Ba'ūrah (بؤورة) who is the lord of the city of Qanūj (قنوج). This is the title given to all the sovereigns of that kingdom. He has large armies in garrisons on the north and on the south, on the east and on the west, for he is surrounded on all sides by warlike kings"[5]

(ii) "The king of Qanūj, who is one of the kings of Sind, is Ba'ūrah, this is the title common to all kings of Qanūj This king has four armies according to the four quarters of the wind. Each of them numbers 700,000 or 900,000 men. The army of the north wars against the prince of Multan and with the Musulmans his

* Read before the *History Section* of the eleventh session of the All India Oriental Conference held at Hyderabad (Deccan) in December 1941

1 Trans, *Elliot*, Vol I, pp 18-25 *Les Prairies d'or*, Texte et Traduction Par C Barbier de Meynard, Paris, 1861 Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Calcutta University Press (*DHNI*), I, pp 52, 614, 578 and 578 fn 1

2 For example, Balhari (بلهري) of Mānku (مانكير) The words which have been so changed are Vallabharāja of Mānyakhetaka, see *DHNI*, I, p 577

3 Meynard transcribes as *Baourah*

4 The variants noticed so far in different MSS are بؤوره - بوروزة - بؤرده - نورره - نوروزة Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, Bombay, 1939, p 25

5 *DHNI*, I, 578

subjects, on the frontier The army of the south fights against the Balharī (بلهرى) king of Mānkīr. The other two armies march to meet enemies in every direction "[6]

(iii) "(Jāhiz) did not know that Mihrān of Sind comes from well known sources in the highlands of Sind, from the country belonging to Qanūj, in the kingdom of Ba'ūrah and from Kashmir, Kandahar, and at-Ṭāfin. ."[7] Mas'ūdī further tells us that at his time a city which was called Ba'ūrah was "in the territories of Islam."[8]

It has been accepted by all scholars that the kings of Kanauj referred to in these passages were the Pratihāras who reigned from that city from c. 836 A D. to 1018 A D That these rulers were of Gurjara stock seems to be suggested by the following statement from the *Silsilat ut-Tawārikh* of Sulaymān, a Muslim merchant who flourished about the middle of the ninth century (*c* 851 A D) —"

"This king (of Jurz) maintains numerous forces, and no other Indian prince has so fine a cavalry He is unfriendly to the Arabs still he acknowledges that the king of the Arabs is the greatest of kings Among the princes of India there is no greater foe of the Muhammadan faith than he He has great riches, and his camels and horses are numerous Exchanges are carried on in his state with silver (and gold) dust and there are said to be mines (of these metals) in the country There is no country more safe from robbers "[10]

Though the word Jurz has been used by Balādhurī (9th century) in a geographical sense in connection with the raids of Junayd, the Governor of Sind under Caliph Hishām (724-43 A D.),[11] yet it is probable that in this passage it has been used in an ethnic sense By "king of Jurj" Sulayman apparently meant "king of the Gurjaras " Dr Majumdar has identified this prince with the Pratihāra emperor Bhoja I (*c* 836-882 A.D.), who ruled over an extensive empire in Northern India. The Sanjan grant of Amoghavarsa[12] and the Rajor inscription of Mathanadeva[13] further

6 *DHNI*, I, 578
7 *Ibid*
8 *Ibid*, p 16
9 *Elliot*, I, Extracts Trans, pp 1-7
10 *Elliot*, I, p 4, *Journal of the Dept of Letters*, Calcutta University (*JL*) X, p 57
11 *DHNI*, I, p 9
12 *EI*, Vol XVIII, p 243, v. 9
13 *EI*, Vol III, p 266, *DHNI*, I, p 592

strengthen the view that the rulers in question belonged to the Pratihāra clan of the Gurjara tribe.

Dr. R. C Majumdar, writing in 1923, was inclined to accept the view that the word 'Ba'ūrah' "was but an Arabic corruption of the word Pratihāra or its Prakrit form Padihara "[14] He further suggested that the king in question was Mahīpāla (914-17 A D), the Gurjara-Pratihāra prince of that name. The possibility that the word 'Ba'ūrah' of Mas'ūdī stood for the dynastic name of the rulers of Kanauj was tentatively accepted by me in 1931 when the first volume of my *Dynastic History of Northern India* was published by the University of Calcutta [15] Recently Prof. S H Hodivala in trying to make a critical commentary on Elliot and Dowson's *History of India as told by its own Historians*[16] has challenged the correctness of the reading 'Ba'ūrah' accepted by Meynard The right reading according to him "seems to be *Bozah, Bozoh*, or *Bodzah* (بوده - بوزه ، بودزه) i e *Bhoja* " He identifies this 'Bhoja' with Bhoja II who succeeded "the Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler" Mahendrapāla (890-910) [17] According to this scholar "Ma'sūdī's statement that the title was common to all the kings of Qanūj is probably due to the fact that Bhoja the Great was succeeded, after some years, by another prince of the same name who had been ruling shortly before the time of Ma'sūdī's arrival in India."[18]

Prof Hodivala rejects Meynard's reading of the word because "he never gives any variants." He finds his difficulty in selecting the right reading from amongst the many variants solved by the fact that some of these bear a phonetic resemblance to the names of two kings of the Pratihāra line of Kanauj If this view could be accepted it would indeed be a great step towards the correction of a mistake which has gained currency during recent years in Indian history But we have to consider carefully the facts at our disposal and see whether the new reading of the word in question is in harmony with the statements of Ma'sūdī This writer has definitely stated that the word in question was a *title* and not, as suggested by Prof. Hodivala, a personal name He has also clearly noted that this "title was given to *all* the sovereigns of the royal family of Qanūj " So far as we

14 *JL*, X, p 65, *DHNI*, I, p 579 fn 1

15 *Ibid*, p 4 fn 3, 15, 579 fn 1, etc

16 *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, Bombay, 1939, p 25

17 The correct dates are *c* 893-907 A.D See, *DHNI*, I, p. 611.

18 *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, p 25

know, nearly a dozen kings of this family ruled from Qanūj of which only two kings were named *Bhoja*. It is difficult to reconcile the categoric statement of Ma'sūdī that the word in question "is the title common to all kings of Qanūj" with the suggestion of Prof Hodivala. In the circumstances it seems that the old reading of Meynard, viz "Ba'ūrah" (بؤورة) and the view that it possibly represented a corruption of the dynastic name *Pratihāra* or *Padihāra* may be, as before, tentatively retained. As there were sometimes many different princes bearing the same name ruling in different parts of India the custom may have prevailed, at least in common parlance, to attach the name of the dynasty or clan to the name of the king, for example Padihāra Bhoja, Pāvar Bhoja, etc. If we take into account the peculiarities of the Arabic script and specially the very slight difference between ب and ب it is not improbable that after all Meynard had hit upon the right reading and can be fairly depended upon for historical purposes.[19]

In conclusion it may be stated that the city mentioned by Ma'sūdī as "Ba'ūrah" was possibly situated on the N W of the territories of the Pratihāra emperors. Ma'sūdī tells us that "through this town passes one of the (five) rivers which form together the river Mihrān (Indus) in Sind."[20] As the Pehowa inscription of Bhoja I[21] shows that the Pratihāras certainly were ruling in areas east of the Sutlej and as Al-Sind in the days of the Arabs extended beyond Multan, it is almost certain that the Punjab was a bone of contention between the two rival powers. A city in the Punjab built by and named after the Pratihāras[22] was at the time when Ma'sūdī visited India, "in the territories of Islam". As I have already observed in my *Dynastic History*,[23] the exact identification of this city named Ba'ūrah is difficult but its identification with "Budha" (Boozah) of Istakhrī and ibn Hauqal[24] is more than doubtful.

H C Ray

19 It is clear from my *Dynastic History* (*DHNI*), Vol I, pp 571 ff that the chronological arrangement of the Pratihāra princes after Mahendrapāla I (c 893-907) is rather uncertain. But the recent attempt to identify Mahipāla I and Bhoja II, depending partially on the view of Hodivala, must remain inconclusive.

20 *DHNI*, I, p 16

21 *EI*, I, pp 184-90, *DHNI*, I, pp 570 and map no 10

22 Compare the name of this city with modern 'Mughal Kot' in the Zhob District of Baluchistan and Pathankot in the Gurdaspur District of the Punjab

23 *DHNI*, I, p 16

24 *Studies in Indo Muslim History*, p 25

The Date of Subandhu

The only thing that may be taken for certain about Subandhu's time is that he was a predecessor of Bāṇa, for this latter writer mentioned the *Vāsavadattā* in his introduction to the *Harṣacarita*. Thus it may be assumed that Subandhu lived some time before the seventh century A.C. This again is corroborated by the fact that Bhavabhūti (*circa* 700 A.C.) reproduced metrically in his *Mālatīmādhava* some lines occurring in the *Vāsavadattā* (= *Vd*)[1]. Thus the sixth century may be taken to be the lower limit to the date of Subandhu (= S). In the following paragraphs we shall discuss the time of S. and try to see if it is possible to get nearer his exact time. For this purpose we must begin with the tenth introductory stanza of the *Vd*, which runs as follows:

सा रसवत्ता विहता नवका विलसन्ति चरति नो कं कः ।
सरसीव कीर्तिशेषं गतवति भुवि विक्रमादित्ये ॥

Vikramāditya alluded to in this passage has been identified with Candragupta II (374-413)[2]. But in spite of this, many scholars were unwilling to see in S. a contemporary of that monarch, for they thought that in the passage quoted above occurs only a 'conventional harking back to happy times long past'[3]. But such a view about the implication of the passage seems to demand a revision after the discovery of S.'s name in connexion with a son of Candragupta in the *Kavyālamkarasūtra* of Vāmana. The credit of bringing this passage to light and suggesting that it mentions Candragupta's son along with S. belongs to the late Mm. H. P. Shastri. In 1905 he wrote a short note in the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* discussing the historical value of the passage[4]. While giving an example Vāmana writes:

सोऽयं सम्प्रति चन्द्रगुप्ततनयश्चन्द्रप्रकाशो युवा जातो भूपतिराश्रयो कृतधियां दिष्ट्या कृतार्थश्रमः and in commenting on this, Vāmana says:

'आश्रयः कृतधियाम्' इत्यस्य च सुबन्धुसाचिव्योपक्षेपपरत्वात् साभिप्रायत्वम् .

For nearly half a decade which followed H. P. Shastri's note, no scholar seems to have given attention to this hypothesis. But in the *Indian Antiquary* of 1911, Mr. K. P. Pathak discussed the passage with the help of the Vāṇīvilāsa press ed. of Vāmana's work[5]. Curiously enough in this

1. Studies in Indology to P. V. Kane, Poona 1941, p. 128 footnote, 33
2. *JPASB*, 1905, New Series pp. 253 ff and *I. Ant.*, 1912 pp. 15, 16
3. *Vāsavadattā* ed. L. Gray, New York 1913, p. 11
4. *Vide* note 2 above
5. *I. Ant.*, 1911, pp. 170-171

paper he ignored H. P. Shastri's note as well as the Kāvyamālā ed. of Vāmana's work on which H. P. Shastri depended. As Mr Pathak read 'Vasubandhu' instead of 'Subandhu' in the passage under discussion he gave a different hypothesis. Assuming the authenticity of Mr. Pathak's reading Hoernle believed that Shastri's reading was merely a conjecture not supported by any Ms.[6] But he disagreed with Mr Pathak in thinking that Candraprakāśa was a proper name held possibly by Kumārgupta, a son of Candragupta II before his accession to the throne In this matter he had agreement with Shastri who expressed such a view in 1905 Coming to know of Hoernle's opinion Shastri sent a communication to the *I Ant* to say that his reading 'Subandhu' had support of more than half a dozen Mss from the Northern as well as Southern India while 'Vasubandhu occurred[7] in only one or two Mss It seems that after this no scholar called into question the propriety of H P Shastri's hypothesis which connected S with Candraprakāśa, a son of Candragupta II (374-413).

Now, if this hypothesis has any merit it throws fresh light on the meaning of the introductory stanza of *Vd* alluding to Vikramāditya We have then no necessity of taking this passage as only 'a conventional harking back to happy times long past.' The plain historical fact which we may deduce from a joint reading of the passages in the *Vd* and Vamana's work will be as follows · S who lived very close to Vikramāditya could not complete his *Vāsavadattā* before the passing away of Vikramāditya (Candragupta II) It is very likely that with the accession of a sovereign to power new set of people came to dominate royal affairs S seems to have suffered at the hands of such people who might have been unfriendly to him, and the new sovereign in spite of his liking for S did not probably at once try to displease his influential court circle by bestowing favour on him. This appears to be the reason why S bewails about the passing away of Vikramāditya and makes an attack on rogues (*khalas*) who were inimical to his literary success. If Hoernle's hypothesis is correct and Candraprakāśa was the name of Vikramaditya's successor before his sitting on the throne, it seems very much probable that he it is who showed his favour to S after he was firmly established on the throne and was in a position to disregard the court circle and in recognition of S.'s scholarship and literary power he made him

6 *I Ant*, 1911, p 264

7 *I Ant*, 1912, p 15, 16

one of his ministers. This event appears to be recorded in the passage of Vāmana referred to above.

Now all this places S roughly between 375 and 450 A C. But there may still be another objection against this date Subandhu's mention of Uddyotakara has been taken to be an evidence of his being later than the sixth century For it has been supposed that Uddyotakara refuted the Buddhist logician Dinnāga who flourished between 520 and 600 A C [8] Now this objection does not seem to be strong at all For Uddyotakara criticizes Buddhist views on *prameya* which have not been discussed in Dinnāga's *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* and it seems very much likely that D. criticizes some Buddhist logician earlier than him [9] Even if it may be proved that Uddyotakara criticizes D, that may not place S after the sixth century, for we have no sure means of ascertaining D's date and according to one view D flourished in 400 A C [10] Now from the consideration of data discussed above it seems possible to place S between 375 and 450 A C

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

A note on the Hanumān type Copper Coins of Pṛthvīdeva and Jājalladeva of Mahākośala

In his paper entitled "The Coins of the Kalacuris" in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, 1941, Prof V V Mirashi writes —

"Mr Allan has recently pointed out that in view of the probability that Prthvīdeva I was still a feudatory and that the dynasty became completely independent in the reign of Jājalladeva I, it is not improbable that *some at least* of the coins should be attributed to Prthvīdeva II" In a footnote it is further remarked by the writer that the description of this king as given in the Amoda Plates is indicative of the feudatory rank of Prthvīdeva I

Prthvīdeva I in his Amoda plates dated in year 831 of the Cedi era is no doubt described as a Mahāmandaleśvara, but he at the same time is

8 *Vāsavadattā*, ed L Gray, p 10

9 Narendra Ch. Vedāntatirtha—*Nyāyadarśaner Itihāsa*, (History of the Nyāya System), Calcutta, 1931, p 229

10 *Bhāmaha alaṃkāra*, Chowkhamba ed, Benares, 1928, pp 41-53

styled as *sakala-kosal-ādhipati*, i.e., lord of entire Kośala, apparently Mahākośala.

Prthvīdeva I's son was Jājalladeva I. His record dated in year 866 of the Cedi era is silent about his rank as an independent monarch No seals of either of these two kings Prthvīdeva I and his son Jājalladeva I, have as yet come to light to enable us to know and compare the respective titles, used by them as rulers

The Sheorinarayan plates of Ratnadeva II, vanquisher of Coda-ganga, dated in year 878 of the Cedi era, contain a seal which describes its donor (Ratnadeva II) as *Mahārānaka* The Sarkhon plates of this king dated in year 880 of the Cedi era, the seal of which is missing, eulogize him as *Sakala-kośalamandana-śrīḥ*.

If it was possible for Ratnadeva II with the title of *Mahārānaka* and the qualifying praise of *sakala-kośala-maṇḍana-śrīḥ* to issue gold and copper coins as Mr J Allan thinks, there can be no objection to the suggestion that Prthvīdeva I, who was a *Mahāmandaleśvara* and *sakala-kosalādhipati*, had his own coinage

Again, of the largest hoards of copper and gold coins yet discovered, not a single hoard contained any specimen of gold or copper coins of the *Hanumān type* either belonging to Prthvīdeva I or to Jājalladeva I Such specimens of the Hanumān type copper coins have been recovered by the Mahākośala Historical Society from time to time at and near about Bālpur and from the bed of the Mahānadī (in Bilaspur District) close to it in solitary bits of one at a time In the absence of any known specimen of gold coins with the figure of a Hanumān on it, it is in itself suggestive of the fact that the Hanumān type coins are earlier than those of the lion type Their very absence in all the hoards of gold and copper coins found at Sonsari (600 gold coins) in Bilaspur District, at Daldal Sewani (136 gold coins) in the Raipur District, at Baghod (12 small size gold coins of Prthvīdeva) in Chandrapur Tract (Raigarh State), old Sambalpur District, at Ialora and in the Khairagar State goes to prove that the lion type coins found in those hoards belonging to the three kings, Prthvīdeva, Jājalladeva and Ratnadeva, are later issues These may therefore be safely attributed to Prthvīdeva II, Jājalladeva II and Ratnadeva II (not Ratnadeva III as he is wrongly[1] described by scholars)

1 The reason is that there were three earlier kings called Kalingarāja Kamalarāja and Ratnarāja To call Ratnarāja as Ratna*deva* I, specially when no records

The Hanumān type copper coins bearing the names of Pṛthvīdeva and Jājalladeva found at and about Bālpur and in the bed of the Mahānadī, should be attributed to Pṛthvīdeva I and Jājalladeva I respectively. These Hanumān type coins are decidedly heavier and thicker than the later issues of copper coins of lion type which are thinner ones. The *akṣara Śrī* on such coins belonging to Pṛthvīdeva, exactly resembles the *Śrī* as found engraved in the writing of the Amoda plates dated in the Cedi year 831 (cf lines 18, 23, 28) A reference to the facsimile of the Amoda plates referred to above will fully convince the reader. The angular curve at the end of the stroke or perpendicular line of Śrī as found in the Amoda plates remains the very same on *Śrī* as put on the coins of Pṛthvīdeva This also lends support to our attribution of the Hanumān type coins to Pṛthvīdeva I

Prof Mirashi has tried to attribute different coins of the Haihaya princes to different rulers on the basis of the form of *Śrī* used on their respective coins But this is not a safe and reliable guide Within such a short period of time (from 866 to 900 of the Cedi era) it is not possible to think of such a rapid change in the form of the letter *Śrī*. Was the letter *Śrī* made to change its form with the installation of every ruler? Certainly not

But even taking the shape and size of letters of the legends on the coins as an evidence, the test cannot stand scrutiny No copper plate inscription of Jājalladeva I has as yet come to light, and the form of *Śrī* adopted during his reign on copper plates is not definitely known to us The form of *Śrī* as found engraved on the Ratanpur stone inscription of Jājalladeva dated in year 866 of the Cedi era is identical with the form of *Śrī* engraved in the Akaltara stone inscription of the reign of Ratnadeva II (whom I may call Ratnadeva I), the vanquisher of Coḍa ganga But the form of *Śrī* as found in the Sarkhon plates of Ratnadeva dated in year 880 of the Cedi era is identical with the form we find in the Amoda plates of Pṛthvīdeva I dated 831 In short, the engravers and writers would have been free to use any form of letters prevalent in their time and, unless there is dated evidence to the effect, it is not possible to classify the coins on the basis of one or two letters except with the help of conjecture

describe him by that epithet, is wrong Ratna*rāja* is called Ratn*eśa* in some inscriptions, but he is no where mentioned as Ratna*deva*

A galloping horse with a lion's claws has been discovered by Prof Mirashi on the gold and copper coins of the Haihaya princes Nothing can be more unconvincing and misleading When the claws of the lion figure on the copper coin of Ratnadeva (cf *J.N S I*, 1941, Plate III, no. 8 Æ) are so distinctly cut, what more proofs are required to take the animal for a lion? Surely there is no coin of the same type where the ***claws*** are shown as 'hoofs'. It may be pointed out that in my cabinet I have not got a single ***copper coin*** of any of the Pṛthvīdevas with a lion type, nor do I remember to have seen any elsewhere The Baghod hoard of 12 *gold coins* of the lion type (small size, weight 7 ratis each) are all of Pṛthvīdeva.

Regarding the change of metal suggested by Prof. Mirashi with reference to the *three copper coins* of Hanumān type, described by General Cunningham (*C M I*, coins nos 9-11), one should satisfy himself by examining the original coins before coming to any definite conclusion and make sure of the mistake, if at all, made by former writers Cunningham, the father of Indian Numismatics, can hardly make such a gross mistake As no gold coins with the Hanumān type are reported to have been discovered in any part of India uptill now, the coins may in all probability be of copper and not of gold

There is no proof to show that the Haihaya Hanumān type was in imitation of the same type of coins issued by the Candella kings

L P Pandeya Sharma

REVIEWS

SELECT INSCRIPTIONS BEARING ON INDIAN HISTORY AND CIVILIZATION, volume I (600 B C —600 A D) edited by Dines Chandra Sircar, M A., Ph D , (with 61 plates), pages Royal Octavo xli + 530 Published by the University of Calcutta, 1942

Due to the scarcity of old historical works, students of ancient and medieval Indian history have to depend a great deal on the epigraphic and numismatic records Many of them have been edited and published by various scholars in India and Europe But as these are scattered over a large number of books and different periodical publications, critical students of Indian history are much handicapped in their work Hence the editor's plan of collecting and editing in a handy volume all the important epigraphs and coin legends illustrating different phases of the cultural history of ancient India, may very justly demand appreciation of all serious students of our national history

A glance at a brief summary of the contents of the work will convince one of the great importance that should be attached to it It has been divided into three Books The first includes Akhaemenian (old Persian) inscriptions relating to India edicts of Aśoka and similarly important pre Christian epigraphs Book II contains post-Maurya but pre Gupta records There are inscriptions of dynasties ruling in western, central and western India, of Indo-Greeks, Indo-Parthians, Kushanas including Sakas of western India, inscriptions of Sātavāhanas, Khāravela and inscriptions from Andhradeśa and from regions outside India such as Ceylon and Central Asia Book III contains inscriptions of Imperial Guptas, and their various contemporaries and subordinates in India and countries, outside India, such as, Burma, Java, Champa, Borneo and Malay Peninsula

Not the study of Indian history only but the study of Indian literature too requires an acquaintance with inscriptional materials discovered up till now. There is a good number of epigraphs which are written in the best ***kāvya*** style and can very favourably be compared with the writings of celebrated masters of classical Sanskrit and Prakrit. As these records can with certainty be assigned to a definite date or epoch our fragmentary knowledge

of the evolution of Indian literature becomes considerably supplemented by a study of inscriptions.

Though the present collection of inscriptions will greatly benefit the student of Indian history, who is eager to have some first hand information about the religious, social, political, economic and literary conditions of the country in the ancient period, it may be said without exaggeration that one to be benefited most by Dr. Sircar's admirable work is the student of Indo-Aryan linguistics. No other language in the world can probably bear comparison with Indo-Aryan as regards its vigorous growth and long life during at least thirtyfive centuries Due to the wealth of forms it developed in different periods and in different localities, its study has a special fascination to students of linguistics As the numerous inscriptions (Skt as well as Pkt) may with certainty be grouped geographically and assigned to definite dates or epochs, historical study of Indo-Aryan becomes easier when one has, in a handy form, more or less dated records of Indo-Aryan languages from the very ancient times

Considering the different aspects of importance of inscriptions in Indo-Aryan it can be legitimately hoped that Indian Universities will before long give them proper place in their syllabus for various degrees Already some Indian Universities, notably among them the University of Calcutta, have taken initiative in the matter and have prescribed a number of inscriptions for the candidates for the M A degree in Skt Pkt, Pali and Ancient Indian History

It is to be hoped that Dr Sircar's very valuable compilation will be greatly helpful in the matter The Skt rendering of Pkt inscriptions and various notes which he appends to the texts of epigraphs will greatly facilitate their studies Numerous facsimiles of inscriptions, and original critical notes which Dr Sircar has given will render this volume indispensable to the specialist In this connexion his learned notes on the Indo-Aryan migration to Bengal and the meaning of *Kulyāvāpa* deserve mention (pp. 499-501).

That Dr Sircar could get such an important work published at a time when the Great War with its numerous difficulties is staring us in the face reflects indeed a great credit on him as well as on his publishers the University of Calcutta

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

Introduction to INDIAN TEXTUAL CRITICISM by S. M Katre, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond), with the Appendix II by P. K Gode, M A Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay, 1941 Pages Demy 8vo XIII + 148.

It is a matter of genuine pleasure to see that Prof. Dr Katre has attempted to make an end of comparative inattention of Indian scholars in general towards the technique of editing old texts One can very wholeheartedly agree with him when he says "With very few exceptions the critical editing of texts in India is lagging behind, and the editors have neither the training nor the proper guidance to qualify them for their task"

The volume under review, an excellent small manual for which the author has drawn materials from various standard works on the subject will go a great way indeed to remove a longfelt want of Indians in the field of Indology In his introduction (ch I) he defines the subject and gives a short history of writing in ancient India together with an account of writing materials as well as the relation between oral and written tradition of different works Influence of different schools in giving shape to different text traditions has also been discussed in the Introduction Other chapters of the work deal with the following subjects (II) Kinds of texts, (III) Some fundamental aspects of textual criticism (IV) The problem of critical recension (V) Causes of corruption in a transmitted text, (VI) Emendation, (VII) Some canons of textual criticism, (VIII) Practical hints on the editing of texts In the treatment of all these topics the author has cited suitable Indian examples wherever necessary Any one reading this work carefully will realize the necessity of preparing critical texts of ancient Sanskrit, Prakrit and Pali works a good number of which have not yet received the thorough scholarly scrutiny they badly need The very happy lead which the Bhandarkar O R Institute has given in the matter in the person of Dr V S Sukthankar the able editor of the great Indian Epic has indeed been appreciated and admired by every serious scholar of India and it seems that a new era has begun as far as the study of ancient texts is concerned

The work under review includes three useful appendixes I. A glossary of some important terms used in textual criticism II A brief note on the history and progress of cataloguing Skt. and other MSS. in India and outside (1800-1941) III On some important manuscripts and critical editions We can very earnestly recommend this small but valuable work to every aspirant in the field of ancient Indian studies. The author and

the compiler of the Appendix II are to be congratulated on the production of this work and its publication in such a handy and neat form.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH IN INDIA
By Dr. A. P. Das Gupta, M.A., Ph D. University of Calcutta, 1942.

This small volume of 160 pages is a collection of papers published in various periodicals during the last ten years. These papers deal with some important topics in the history of the British in India in the eventful period from 1757 to 1784 The paper entitled "The Select Committee in Bengal and its conflict with the Council in 1770" deals with an interesting aspect of the early history of British administration in Bengal The paper on 'Nawab Najmuddowla and the English' shows that "months before the English obtained the dewany from the Emperor of Delhi, they had started taking a hand in the revenue administration of Bengal and that the formal grant by Shah Alam on the 12th August, 1765, only legalised the existing position" These two papers constitute a really valuable contribution to modern Indian history. "A note on the personal relations of Warren Hastings and Sir Thomas Rumbold" analyses some hitherto unpublished letters written by the latter to the former and throws some light on the causes of their quarrel "A peep into the Macartney papers in the Historical Museum, Satara' gives a brief account of some English manuscripts belonging to Lord Macartney and relating to the period of his Indian administration as well as his subsequent career The author examined these papers at Satara, but they have now been transferred to the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute at Poona "The Treaty of Mangalore" analyses the circumstances leading to that famous treaty between Tipu Sultan and the East India Company and vindicates the Madras Government against the charge of having concluded the Second Mysore War with unseemly haste and accepted terms disgraceful to the British All the papers are based on a careful study of unpublished documents There are a good index and some interesting illustrations

A C BANERJEE

HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIA, by Rama Shankar Tripathi, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Benares Hindu University, published by Nand Kishore & Brothers, Benares, 1942 Pages xxix + 555

Dr Rama Shankar Tripathi is well known to students of Indian history as the author of *History of Kanauj to the Moslem Conquest* which shows his critical spirit and sound judgment In the volume under review Dr Tripathi has given, in the lines of the late Dr. V A. Smith's *Early History of India*, a compendious account of the political and institutional history of ancient India The latest edition of Smith's work was published as early as 1924, and much fresh and valuable material for Indian history has since then accumulated It is therefore a good sign that scholars have felt the necessity of bringing out up-to-date works of a similar type as that of the late Dr Smith Dr Tripathi's book will no doubt be welcomed by persons interested in ancient India, especially by students preparing for the degree examinations of Indian Universities.

The book under review is carefully prepared and is sure to be immensely interesting and useful to the general student of Hindu history and culture It is gratifying to note that in the plan and preparation of the earlier chapters the author has followed more comprehensive works like the *Cambridge History of India*, vol I. It must be said to his credit that he has always an eye on the cultural life of the period with which he deals.

Dr Tripathi has tried his best to make the work up-to-date It is however almost improbable in these days to keep abreast with the gradually increasing literature on the history and culture of India published every month in different parts of the world, especially in the periodicals By way of illustration it may be pointed out that the recent discovery of some records of the Vākāṭaka dynasty ruling from Basim (ancient Vatsagulma) has escaped the author's notice It has been proved by recent researches that at the time of Pulakeśin II the "province of Veṅgī" (p. 446) was certainly under the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and not under the Pallava king of Kāñcī The author deals with the history of Kaliṅga and Oḍra (e.g. the account of the Eastern Gangas) in a section entitled 'Medieval Hindu Dynasties of Northern India.' The account of Kaliṅga and Oḍra, however, ought to have been placed in the section on Dakṣiṇāpatha The history of some regions, e g the Andhra country (especially the history of the Eastern Cālukya dynasty) has been neglected. There are again some

suggestions (e.g. in the account of the Kadambas, Pallavas, Cālukyas of Bādāmi, etc) which the author have accepted from works not quite up-to-date. Passages like "Brhatphalāyanas of Kudūra", "Visnukundins of Lendulura" etc. are not quite satisfactory. Nevertheless these are not of great importance and do not detract from the value of Dr Tripathi's work. Considering the greatness of his task, the defects are rather few, and we have no doubt that the arduous author will try to avoid them in the future edition of the work into which, we hope, it will soon run.

D C Sircar

BUDDHA PŪRVA KĀ BHĀRATĪYA ITIHĀSA (Part I) by Rao Raja Dr Shyam Bihari Misra, D Litt , and Rai Bahadur Pandit Sukadeva Bihari Misra, B A , published by the Hindi Sāhitya Sammelan, Prayāg, 3rd ed , Samvat 1996, Price Rs 2/8/-.

Rao Raja Dr Shyam Bihari Misra and his brother, Rai Bahadur Pandit Sukadeva Bihari Misra, occupy a prominent place in the world of Hindi letters Both of them are gifted and prolific writers, and it is hardly an exaggeration to say that Hindi literature owes much to their joint contributions on a variety of subjects under the *nom de plume* 'Miśra Bandhu ' The work under review deals with the history of India prior to the rise of Buddhism It is a pioneer attempt in Hindi on a period that is obscure and beset with numerous difficulties and chronological uncertainties The *Purānas* are doubtless a vast store-house of information for the early history of India, but, despite the labours of European Orientalists like Wilson and Pargiter and of a number of Indian scholars, specially Dr Ray Chaudhuri and Dr Pradhan, who have consistently stressed the importance of the Paurānic evidence in their works, there is no gainsaying that much still remains to be done before these mines of ancient wisdom and tradition may be considered to have yielded all their historical treasures In the present Hindi work 'Miśra Bandhus" have, besides utilising other sources, systematically tapped the *Purānas* for giving us a connected account of pre-Buddhist India They have carefully analysed the data, and their conclusions are not unoften at variance with those of their predecessors Indeed, in respect of some dynastic lists and synchronisms "Miśra Bandhus" have broken altogether new ground It is noteworthy that in unravelling the tangled webs of Pre-vedic history and culture the authors have not only

depended on the usual materials brought to light by the archæologists' spade but they have also made full use of the *Purāṇas* Thus, they have tried to show the historicity of certain non-Aryan tribes that were so far regarded as belonging to the realm of mythology "Miśra Bandhus" offer some novel suggestions on the "Manvantaras," they believe that the first five "Manvantaras" were pre-Vedic and pre-Aryan. One may or may not agree with these views, but they are certainly interesting and set forth skilfully In tackling other topics also, like the problem of the Aryans and the chronological positions of the various ruling families and kings, as well as in depicting the cultural conditions of the times, the authors display a good deal of learning and a faculty of critical reasoning. The book is, on the whole, very well-written, and "Miśra Bandhus" deserve the congratulations of all students of history for the scholarly work they have produced in Hindi on a period that still continues to be a fruitful source of speculation and controversy.

RAMASHANKAR TRIPATHI

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Adyar Library Bulletin, vol. VI, pt. 3 (October 1942)

P. K. GODE—*The Identification of Gosvāmi Narasimhāśrama of Dara Shukoh's Sanskrit Letter with Brahmendra Sarasvatī of the Kavīndracandrodaya (Between 1628 and 1658)*

SERIAL PUBLICATIONS—The editing of several Sanskrit works continues

K MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA—*The Āryabhaṭīyavyākhyā of Raghunātharāja—A rare and hitherto unknown work* The Adyar Library possesses the ms of a valuable commentary written by Raghunātha about the close of the 16th century on the famous astronomical treatise of Āryabhata

H. G. NARAHARI—*A New Recension of the Mahanāṭaka* The *Mahānāṭakasūktisudhānidhi* consisting of 519 verses is available in mss The nucleus of the work seems to have been the well-known *Mahānāṭaka* or *Hanumannāṭaka* with a good number of verses dealing with the story of Rama added to it. Having no prose passages nor any stage directions, and being divided into Kāndas instead of Acts the work has lost its appearance as a drama Its author, patronised by King Devarāya II of Vijayanagar belonged to the 15th century A C

Calcutta Review, November, 1942

S. K BANERJI—*Firuz Tughluq as seen in his Monuments and Coins*

Indian Culture, vol VIII, nos 2 & 3

H. C RAY—*The Line of Kṛṣṇagupta* Krsnagupta and his descendant princes are mentioned in several epigraphs found in different places of Bihar Arguments are put forward against the conclusion that the line of Krsnagupta is a "branch of the Imperial Gupta dynasty descended from the Mahārāja Gupta "

H G NARAHARI—*The Meaning of Brahman and Ātman in the Ṛgveda* An analysis of the different senses, in which the words Brahman and Ātman are used in the texts of the *Ṛgveda*, shows that at times the Upaniṣadic conception of Brahman or Ātman is noticeable even in those old texts

P M MODI—*Relation of Brahman and Jagat* The purpose of the paper is to show that the *Brahmasūtra* teaches the complete identity of

Brahman and the world,—the cause and the effect, even in respect of consciousness and Bliss, which are not perceivable in the objects of the material world The theory of causation as propounded in the Sūtras has been, it is asserted, reflected more faithfully in the 'Suddhādvaita' commentary of Vallabhācārya than in other expositions of the Sūtras

NANI MADHAB CHAUDHURI—*Mother-goddess Conception in the Vedic Literature*

P K ACHARYA—*Hindu Architecture and Sculpture*

BAIJ NATH PURI—*The Kusānaputras* The Kusānaputras mentioned in several epigraphic records are thought to have been the descendants of the Kusanas A chronological history of the line is given here

Jain Antiquary vol VIII, no 2 (December, 1942)

VASUDEVA S AGRAWALA—*A fragmentary Sculpture of Neminātha in the Lucknow Museum* In the Lucknow Museum is found a number of Jain images brought from the Devanirmita Stūpa of Kankali Tila in Mathura They are of special value as containing inscribed images of Tirthankaras with various subsidiary gods and goddesses of the Jain pantheon and some Brāhmanical deities as their attendants. One of the images assigned to the Gupta period represents Tīrthankara Neminatha with Baladeva serving him as one of his attendants

HARISATYA BHATTACHARYA—*Nārāyaṇas Pratināràyanas and Balabhadras* This instalment of the paper deals with the Jain versions of the different episodes of the story of Rāma They differ substantially from Valmiki's version

KALIPADA MITRA—*Magic and Miracle in Jaina Literature*

A N UPADHYE—*Prakrit Studies Their Latest Progress and Future*

Journal of the Assam Research Society, vol IX, nos. 1 & 2 (January & April, 1942)

S C GOSWAMI—*Land Grant to the Temple of Umānanda at Gauhati by Badshah Ghazi Aurangzeb Salar Khan* A document in Persian recording the grant of certain lands made by Emperor Aurangzeb to a Brāhmana manager of the temple of Umānanda has been published here The document proves Aurangzeb's patronage extended to a religious institution of the Hindus

K R MEDHI—*Philosophic Aspect of the Assam Brajāvali Literature.* The Brajāvali works of the Bhakti school of Vaiṣṇavism in Assam show

that its exponent Śaṅkara Deva and his followers believed in the doctrine of strict monism of Vedānta as interpreted by Sankarācārya and found in some portions of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa.*

S. C. RAJKHOWA.—*Ahom Kingship* Evidence is adduced to prove that there existed in medieval Assam a limited monarchy, and the Ahom kings were not at all absolute

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,
vol. XXVIII, pt 3 (September, 1942)

A C PERUMALIL —*The India of the Early Greeks and Romans from the Time of Alexander's Invasion till the Fall of Alexandria (336 B C to 641 A D)* The writings of those who accompanied Alexander the Great to India, and those who came to the country after his invasion show that these Greek authors had a fairly accurate knowledge of the Geography of India and they knew also the varieties of Indian plants and animals, and the people and their different customs prevailing in the country before Christ. The accounts left by the Roman traders and philosophers who frequented the towns of India during the early centuries of the Christian era, when commercial relations were established between Rome and the eastern world, also show how well these authors knew the geographical position of India

S. K ROY - *Mineralogy and Mining in Ancient India* The writer of the article deals with the condition of mineralogy, mining and metallurgy in the different stages of Indian history from the pre-Vedic times, and things that as the knowledge of mineralogy is necessary for the science of medicine, the former science must have formed a subject of study in the ancient university of Taxila

S A SHERE --*Kings of the Jaunpur Dynasty and their Coinage*

A BANERJI-SASTRI - *Resemblance of Manichaeism to Buddhism* Translated into English from the original German of Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde.*

GEORGE M. MORAES --*The Hamjamana of the Śilāhāra Records* The paper supports the view that the city of Hamjamana mentioned in different epigraphical records of the Śilāhāra kings was an 'administrative unit' of the Northern Śilāhāras. A village called Anjuna in the district of Bardes in the Portuguese territory of Goa has been identified here with Hamjamana.

Journal of the Numismatic Society of India,
vol. IV, pt. 1 (June 1942)

A S ALTEKAR—*New Kings and interesting Coin-Types from Kauśāmbī Notes on Some Pañcāla Coins A Coin of Vaṅgapāla, a king of Kauśāmbī A Coin of Madavika, a new king or People. Two Coins of Ajadatta, a new king in Central India Some interesting Sātavāhana Coins Some interesting Uninscribed Coins Some interesting Medieval Coins*—The papers deal with coins belonging to the collection of Rai Braj Mohan Vyas Bahadur of Allahabad They reveal the names of nine new kings ruling between the 2nd century B.C and the 3rd century A C at Kauśāmbī Four other new kings are also known from these numismatic records to have ruled in the Gangetic plain or Central India Some new types of coins have also been found in this collection

J M. UNVALA—*Hephthalite Coins with Pahlavi Legends*

V S AGRAWALA—*The Old Names of Sunet and Sudavapa* Sunet, the find place of a large number of coins and Sudavapa read on a class of coins are regarded respectively to have been Sunetra and Udvapa, two place names enumerated in the list of words in Pāṇini's *Ganapātha*

PARAMESHWARI LAL GUPTA—*Identification of Agācha on Agroha Coins* The word Agacha is thought to be a Prakrit variation of the Sanskrit Agreya which is conjectured to have been the name of a republic or a tribe

S V SOHONI—*A Note on Audumbara Temple Coins* From the banner with a trident-battle-axe seen in front of the temple-like building on some of the copper coins belonging to the Audumbaras of the Panjab, the writer of the note draws the conclusion that the structure on the coins is a Śaiva shrine

C R SINGHAL *A Hoard of 3877 Billon Coins of the Sultans of Delhi* The big hoard of coins discovered by a ploughman at Triambak in Nasik contains coins of three rulers, viz Balban, Alauddin Khilji, and Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq

Journal of Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Institute,
vol III, no. (January-June, 1942)

K C VARADACHARI—*Śrī Kulaśekhara's Philosophy of Devotion* Kulaśekhara, ruling in the 7th century over Madura and other principalities

in Southern India, was a great Ālvār His *Perumal Tirumoli* containing 105 hymns in Tamil reveals the heart of a devotee trying to achieve union with God by mentally establishing some sort of relationship with Him The treatise divided into ten sections speaks of the different kinds of attitudes taken by a *bhakta* in relation to his object of worship Kulaśekhara lays great emphasis on the Devakī-Kṛṣṇa attitude and the Kauśalyā-Rāma attitude, extolling in this way the sentiment of Vatsalya more than that of Madhura

—.—*Buddhist and Yoga Psychology* The purpose of the paper is to show the correspondences between the Buddhist and Yoga methods of attainment of ecstasy *dhyāna, prāṇāyāma* etc

N, AIYASWAMI SASTRI —*Aśoka's Edicts and Sagga (Heaven)* It is argued in the paper that the references in the Aśokan Edicts to the heavenly bliss as a reward of righteous living have not been influenced by the Vedic religion which offered the attainment of heaven as a result of the sacrificial rites Aśoka was a thorough Buddhist as his Edicts show, and fulfilled the duties of a Cakkavatti (Emperor) as assigned by Buddha

M RAMAKRISHNA KAVI —चाक्षुपायम् A rare treatise on the Nītiśāstra supposed to have been the source of the *Kautilya*, has been edited here.

Ibid, vol III, no. 2 (July-December, 1942)

K C VARADACHARI - *The Philosophy of Religion of the Ālvārs* The Ālvārs or the Vaisnava saints of southern India have left hymns in Tamil containing religious and philosophical ideas that are found in the highest lore of the Bhāgavatas and the Pāñcarātras The controversial points about the age of the Ālvāras are discussed in the paper, and all the ten saints are assigned to dates earlier than the 9th century A C The paper also presents an exposition of the religious thought of the first three Ālvāras, Poygai Bhūtattar and Pey as found expressed in the three hundred verses forming the three *Tiruvandādis* (of hundred verses each) composed by them.

N SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI —*Syllogistic Reasoning* A comparative study of Indian and European logic

T K GOPALASWAMI AIYANGAR —*Are Karmendriyas accepted by Akṣapāda?* According to the later advocates of the Nyāya system of philosophy,

only six organs can be regarded as *indriyas*, because the motor organs (*karmendriyas*) do not satisfy in their opinion the definition of an *indriya* It has been shown in the paper that Akṣapāda, the exponent of the system, does not himself exclude the motor organs from the category of *indriyas* It is argued that as Akṣapāda has not opposed the Vedāntin's theory in respect of the inclusion of the *karmendriyas* as *indriyas*, he must have been a 'Vedāntic-Logician'

D T TATACHARYA--*Theories of Sentence-significance* The paper contains a discussion of the opinions of the different schools of thought as to how a sentence as a combination of words conveys an idea and contributes to our knowledge

N AIYASWAMI SASTRI - *Bhāmaha* Bhāmaha is assigned a date earlier than that of Daṇḍin He is surmised to have been originally a Gauḍa having migrated afterwards to Kashmir Bhāmaha seems to have followed, at least partially, the reforms introduced by Diṅnāga in the field of logic and epistemology So, it is possible that he belongs to the school of the Svātantrika Mādhyamikas of the Mahāyānic form of Buddhism Many passages quoted in different works as sayings of Bhāmaha but not found in his *Kāvyālaṅkāra* have been discussed regarding their authorship

T K V N SUDARSANACHARYA—रसगङ्गाधरे कथन प्रघट्टः मूलव्याख्यानयोर्विरोध-परामर्शः.—It is an attempt at reconciliation between the apparent contradictions in the text of the *Rasagangādhara* and its commentary *Marmaprakāśa*

K B NILAMEGHACHARYA--श्रीगीतामहिमा — This is an appreciation of the excellence of the *Bhagavadgītā*

P P SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI—अप्पय्यदीक्षितविरचितशिवध्यानपद्धतिः.—Edited

Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society,
vol XV, pt 1 (July, 1943)

PRAYAG DAYAL - *Presidential Address of the Numismatic Society of India for 1941*

RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJEE—*Universities in Ancient India with Special Reference to Āyurvedic Studies* A close personal relation subsisting between the teacher and the taught was a special feature of general education in ancient India. Organised activities for the promotion of learning as against indivdual efforts were noticeable in the institutions

that grew up for the prosecution of advanced studies at places like Nālandā, Vikramaśilā, Jagaddala, Odantapurī, Valabhī and Mithilā. Important details about the University of Nalandā as found in the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims are given in the paper, and various data are collected from the Āyurvedic texts like the *Suśrutasamhitā*, Pali treatises like the *Milinda Pañho*, and the *Jātakas*, and several Buddhist canonical works, to discuss the methods of medical study obtaining in the centres of learning like Taxila, the condition of medical profession as a whole, the treatment of cases by medical practitioners, and the hospital arrangements.

KRISHNADASA —*A Kinnara-mithuna Terracotta Case from Rajghat, Benares*

S K BANERJI —*Ghiasuddin Tughluq Shah as seen in his Monuments and Coins.* The coins, buildings, and military works, of Tughlaq Shah indicate that his was a prosperous reign.

JANGIR SINGH —*Raja Todar Mal's Sons* This is a brief account of the careers of Dharu or Govardhandhāri and Kalyān Das, the two sons of Todar Mal, the celebrated minister of Akbar.

RADHAKAMAL MUKHERJEE —*The Economic History of India 1600-1800* The social stratification and the industries and markets are the main topics discussed in this instalment of the paper

Joural of the Universiry of Bombay, vol xi, pt 1 (July, 1942).

A P KARMAKAR —*The Vrātyas in Ancient India* Evidence has been adduced from the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* to show that the Vrātya cult mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* is non-Aryan in character It was an institution developed among the indigenous peoples of India and was not confined to any one tribe or locality "The early peoples of Mohenjo Daro, the Mahīsikas, the Colas, the Ambaṣṭhas and the Andhaka-Vṛṣṇis were styled as Vrātyas." The Aryans started a parallel institution of *Cāturvarnya*, and afterwards began to take the Vrātyas into the Aryan fold by means of conversion as the Vrātya-stomas indicate.

Ibid. vol. XI, part 2 (September, 1942)

H. D VELENKAR —*Hymns to Indra by the Bharadvājas* Thirty-one hymns of the 6th Maṇḍala of the *Ṛgveda* addressed to Indra by the seers of the Bharadvāja family are translated into English and annotated.

P. V. KANE.—*The Rājaśāstras of Bṛhaspati, Uśanas, Bhāradvāja and Viśālākṣa* The paper discusses the views of Bṛhaspati, Uśanas, Bhāradvāja and Viśālākṣa as can be known from the references and quotations found in the *Mahābhārata, Arthaśastra* and such other Sanskrit works Bṛhaspati's work seems to have been a comprehensive treatise on Rājadharma written in mixed prose and verse.

G. V. DEVASTHALI —*Gangārāma Jadin* Four works,—the *Casaka*, a commentary on the *Tarkāmṛta* of Jagadīśa, the *Dinakarīkhandana*, a dialectical treatise on the Mīmāṃsāśāstra, the *Naukā*, a commentary on Bhānudatta's *Rasatarangiṇī*, and the *Rasamīmāmsā* with *Chāyā* are known to have been written by Gangārāma during the period between the last decade of the 17th century and the middle of the 18th Many well-known Sanskrit authors were related to him

P K GODE —*A Contemporary Manuscript of Bhānuji Dīksita's Vyākhyāsudhā* An incomplete ms of the *Vyākhyāsudhā*, Bhānuji Dīksita's commentary on the *Amarakośa*, deposited in the Government Mss Library at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute contains a chronogram bearing the date of Samvat 1705 or A C 1649 The importance of the ms lies in the fact that the transcript was executed during the life-time of the author The colophon of the ms reveals that Bhānuji's patron Kīrtisimha was a prince of the Baghela dynasty, ruling over the Mahīdhara territory Mr Gode has identified Kīrtisimha with Fateh Singh the founder of the Sohawal State in Baghelkhanda in Central India Mahīdhara, according to him, means the Maihar State

A N. UPADHYE - *Padmaprabha and his Commentary on the Niyamasāra* This forms a critical study of Padmaprabha and his *Tatparyavrtti*, a Sanskrit commentary on the Prakrit work *Niyamasāra* of Kundakunda, the celebrated Jaina author of important theological treatises. Padmaprabha flourished about the close of the 12th century

K R PODDAR —*Contemporary Life as Revealed in the Works of Bāṇa* In this instalment of the paper the subjects are dealt with under the following headings People, their occupations, sports, etc., social intercourse, etiquette, sports, dress, etc., household, social and religious ceremonials, city life, village life, and forest life, learning art and literature.

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I H Q, Sept 1942, p 196,
for Avadānacarita *read* Avadānakalpalatā